

THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOL. 6.

AUGUST, 1892.

No. 5.

FOR THE MAGAZINE OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

THE DOCTRINE ON RELIGION.

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HISTORICAL SURVEY.

ALL religions, whether ethnic or messianic, have some essential attributes in common. As to their generic idea, each is a spiritual communion between God and man, man and God. But all are not of the same order. A broad line of difference is to be drawn between ethnic religions and Christianity. Christianity is a communion of love quickened by the agency of the Holy Spirit between God and man, a communion which derives its life and distinguishing attributes from the Divine—human Mediator. Ethnic religions are different forms of the communion inaugurated by the creation in God's image of the primeval man, perverted and falsified by sin.

IMPORT OF THE WORD "RELIGION."

One of the primary elements which from the earliest ages entered into the conception of the natural religious life may be learned from the radical meaning of the Latin words from which the name *religion* has been derived. History presents two competing etymologies—the one by Cicero, who derives the word from *relegere*, the other by Lactantius, who derives it from *religare*.

The famous passage of the Roman orator giving his derivation of the word occurs in his work entitled "De Natura Deorum," and runs thus :

"Qui autem omnia, quæ ad cultum deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent et tamquam relegenter sunt dicti *religiosi* a *relegendo*."^{*}

According to this etymology, religion is derived from *re-legere*, or, more directly, from another form of the infinitive, *re-ligere*, to gather, diligently practise; that is, the religious gather sacred things by the exercise of judgment and by handling; or, it may

be said, they read Divine things by performing the duties relating to the worship of the gods. In his review of this derivation, Lactantius gives us his interpretation of the sense in which Cicero applied *re-legere*. He says : "They who handled again, and, as it were, carefully gathered all things which related to the worship of the gods, were called *religiosi* from carefully gathering, as some were called elegant from choosing out, and diligent from carefully selecting, and intelligent from understanding."^{*} Though the conception of the Roman orator is defective, it includes valid elements. The radical thought is attention to the ceremonies of worship. The religious offer prayer, handle sacrifices, select, gather, perpetuate the rites of Divine service.

By virtue of kinship with their Creator, men have a perception of His existence and an inalienable spiritual sense constraining them to worship; they are moved from within to revere things set apart to the gods, and to observe sacred rites. Feeling their dependence on a Power above them, they seek to obtain Divine favors, and desire intimations of the Divine will. Cicero's etymology partly expresses and partly implies these distinguishing traits of man's spiritual life, all centring in the instinct of worship.

According to Lactantius,[†] the word religion comes from *re-ligare*, to bind, bind back. Men are bound to God by the bond of piety; and piety consists in the observance of the ordinances of worship. His words are : "Hoc vinculo pietatis obstricti Deo et religati sumus, unde ipse religio nomen accepit."[‡]

Here we meet a deeper view. "We are bound and tied to God by this chain of

* De Nat. Deorum, II., 28.

* Trans. Inst. Lact., IV., 28, by Dr. Roberts, Ante-nicene Fathers. Am. Rep., Vol. VII., p. 181.
† 1890.

‡ Institutes, IV., 28.

piety ; from which itself religion received its name, not, as Cicero explains it, from carefully gathering." Further on Lactantius expresses himself somewhat more fully : "The name of religion is derived from *the bond* of piety, because God has tied man to Himself, and bound him by piety ; for we must serve Him as a Master, and be obedient to Him as a Father." Religion implies the obligation of service imposed by God, and obedience to His will. Cicero embraces chiefly the sacred rites performed by men, and the knowledge pertaining to these outward observances ; in thought passing from the human toward the Divine. Lactantius emphasizes the Divine obligation and the ethical response of human life ; in thought passing rather from God toward man. Both agree in holding religion to be chiefly Divine worship, *cultus Dei* ; but the one mainly emphasizes the things that man does in worship, while the other moves rather in the reverse order. Lactantius puts more emphasis on God's authority and power, binding man by a spiritual and moral bond to Himself.

The doctrine concerning the nature of religion involved in the etymology of Lactantius is of the two derivations the more profound, and has in it more spiritual truth ; but philologists have generally been maintaining that Cicero's derivation of the word is correct, though his conception of our religious life is the more defective. According to this opinion, the radical etymological meaning of religion would be that men by prayers, sacrifices, and other rites choose, gather, and handle things pertaining to the gods, implying that all men have a perception of the existence of the Divine Being, and feel an inward impulse to do Him homage.

There is room, however, to question this preponderance of judgment in favor of Cicero. The radical meaning of the word when derived from *re-ligare* is in more real sympathy with the spiritual instincts and spiritual history of our race. The pagan Cicero may perhaps be supported by a better philological argument ; but the Christian Cicero may justify his derivation by a better religious philosophy.

DOCTRINE ON RELIGION OF PAGAN THINKERS.

The ethnic religious *life* is in principle the same among all nations and in all ages, though there is much variation as to its strength, character, and mode of development. Not so with the notion or *theory* of religion. The accepted doctrine concern-

ing its nature differs in different periods of history. The difference is referable partly to race and nationality, partly to the reigning spirit of the age, and partly to the status of philosophy or the influence of scientific theories. As the advent of the Christ is the central epoch of all history, introducing both a new spiritual life and a new era of thought concerning God and man, His revelation and mediatorial work have generated new conceptions, not only of true religion, but also of the inadequate religions of paganism.

Among the philosophers and religious teachers of the more civilized pagan nations, the conception of religion was commonly external and superficial. It is questionable whether, among the Greeks and Romans, several individuals possibly excepted, there was developed a philosophical conception concerning its nature. It was rather a general term applied to the numerous and conflicting ceremonies of worship. Religion consisted chiefly in the observance of these ceremonies. It was devotion to the gods, and was external rather than internal. This devotion presupposed and included temples, altars, sacrifices, prayers, festivals, and a priesthood. All were embraced in the notion of reverence and worship. These sacred observances were governed by traditional custom or by law. But neither philosophers nor religious teachers afford us a satisfying insight into the origin and spiritual meaning of sacred rites, or into the necessity and propriety of religious institutions. The Divine forces of the religious life are seen to be active, even vigorous, in the history of pagan nations ; but we do not discover a distinct consciousness of these Divine forces nor a just conception of the intrinsic necessity of sacred observances.

The exceptions, if any, would be such earnest students as Socrates, Plato, Æschylus, Seneca, Cicero, and a few others. But Socrates, the most original and distinguished of all the serious thinkers among the Greeks on Divine things, declares that philosophers know nothing ; and the difference between himself and others is that, while others imagine they know something, he knows that he knows nothing. In his "Apology" * he says : "I neither know nor think that I know."

Of this superficiality and deficiency the cause is to be found in the fact that, without the light and grace of messianic revelation, thought does not rise either to a definite perception of the unity and love of the

* Jowett's Plato, I., p. 319.

Divine Being, nor to any just apprehension of His relations to the world. Failing to know God rightly, ethnic teachers, by logical consequence, also fail rightly to know man. A just conception of man's relation to God is not supposable without a just conception of God's relation to man. The two conceptions are mutually conditional.

THE DOCTRINE AMONG THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS.

Nor do we find among the early Church Fathers a philosophic insight into man's religious life, nor a definite conception of the generic difference between the religions of the world and the religion of Christ. For them Jesus, the Christ, was the author and founder of the true religion. Christianity alone was pure, saving, and perfect, satisfying all the needs of our fallen race; the Church was for a sinful world the only ark of salvation. On all these and cognate questions the faith of the Church Fathers was discriminating and firm. Moreover, the logic and learning of the times evinced firmness and boldness in maintaining Christian truth against the unbelief, the arguments, and the ridicule of heathenism and Judaism.

As regards the *theology* of the first teachers, that was no less decidedly anti-pagan and christological. The personality of Jesus Christ, the Word made flesh, was held to be the central fact of the Christian religion. Indeed, the systematic thought of the first three centuries, hinging as it did on the Person of the Mediator, was more distinctively christological and more predominantly theological than in the post-nicene and mediaeval ages.

Nevertheless, the radical errors of pagan beliefs, and the essential difference between ethnic religion and Christianity, were not defined, and but partially discerned. It was generally held that *religious life*, as it prevailed in the beginning of human history, and the *Christian life* were the same. Originally every nation possessed the truth of God and observed acceptable forms of worship; but the knowledge of Divine truth had been obscured and acceptable worship corrupted by the influence of demons.

The sentiment that the religious life of the Christian and the religious life of the pagan are one and the same lies at the bottom of the celebrated utterance of Tertullian: "Anima Christiana naturaliter est;" but it is susceptible of a meaning more profound and philosophical than was probably in the mind of the author. The same sentiment seems to have been in the mind of

Justin Martyr, who says: "When Socrates endeavored by true reason and examination to deliver men from the demons, then the demons themselves, by means of men who rejoiced in iniquity, compassed his death as an atheist and a profane person, on the charge that he was 'introducing new divinities'; and in our case they display a similar activity. For not only among the Greeks did reason (Logos) prevail to condemn these things through Socrates, but also among the barbarians were they condemned by Reason Himself, who took shape, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ."* "We have been taught that Christ is the first-born of God: and we have declared above that He is the Word of whom every race of men were partakers; and those who lived reasonably (according to Reason, *μετὰ λόγου*) are Christians, even though they have been thought atheists, as among the Greeks, Socrates and Heraclitus, and men like them."† "And those of the Stoic school, since, so far as their moral teaching went, they were admirable, as were also the poets in some particulars, on account of the seed of Reason (*λόγος σπερμάτικος*) implanted in every race of men, were, we know, hated and put to death. For, as we intimated, the devils have always effected that all those who anyhow live a reasonable and earnest life and shun vice be hated. And it is nothing wonderful, if the devils are proved to cause those to be much worse hated who live not according to a part only of the Word diffused, but by the knowledge and contemplation of the whole Word which is Christ."‡

According to Justin, all races of men are partakers of the Divine Logos, who is the first-born of God, and became man, and was called Jesus Christ; and all those who lived according to the Logos, implanted in every race of men, are Christians, among whom are Socrates, Heraclitus, and others like them. Whether he identified the implanted Divine Reason with the human reason, or in the immanence of the Divine Reason recognized a distinction of difference between the Divine and the human, or oscillated between the two conceptions is not certain. There is obvious confusion of thought. Of the generic difference between the religion of Christ and ethnic religions there is no definite recognition—perhaps none at all. And the opinion of Justin represents the dominant sentiment of the Church catholic in the second and third centuries.

* First Apol., V. † Ibid., 46. ‡ Second Apol., VIII.

The teachers of the early Church accordingly used the term religion in the same general sense in which it was used by pagan teachers. Religion was the service of God in worship, or the observance of festivals, sacred rites, and ordinances, *cultus Dei*. But while both classes of teachers applied the term to *cultus*, or the authorized offices of worship, there was this immense difference: condemning all pagan rites as unworthy of God, the term by the Church Fathers was appropriated to the offices of *Christian* worship. The Lord's Prayer, the use of the sacraments, and offerings coupled with works of charity—in other words, obedience to Christ in worship, in social conduct, and in all ethical activity—constituted true religion. Two things in the current sentiment are especially prominent: (1) The *human* factor, or the activity of the Christian believer toward God, and (2) the *service* of God in worship conducted agreeably to the order or custom of the Church.

THE DOCTRINE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

During the mediæval ages the genius of Christianity struck its roots deeper into the soil of the Christian community, the Church increased in strength and extent, and her organization was consolidated; but the general sentiment respecting religion, in as far as this took shape in consciousness and thought, remained substantially the same. The human was the predominant element, and the disproportion between the human factor and the Divine became even greater.

After the accession of Constantine and the triumph of Athanasian ideas in the Council of Nice (325) the Church, notwithstanding her conflicts, grew in authority and controlling influence. With this growth was developed the prevalent tendency toward externalization and an imposing ritual. Ceremonies and offices were multiplied. The outward in the services of the sanctuary was more prominent. The adoration of pictures and images, the invocation of saints, pilgrimages, monstery, and manifold ascetic practices grew in favor and gradually gained the ascendancy. Religion consisted largely in observing this outward routine of ceremonial service—a service, however, which always presupposed faith in Christ and the acceptance of the doctrines taught by the Church.

The term acquired special significance in its application to particular classes of men and women. Priests and monks and nuns were emphatically the *religious*; religious

inasmuch as they abstained from marriage, withdrew from secular vocations, multiplied their prayers, fasted often and rigidly, inflicted pains upon the body by whipping and other arbitrary inventions, and performed many self-imposed works of external righteousness.

Though there was always a counter spiritual current, sometimes weaker, sometimes stronger, this sentiment respecting the nature of religion, perhaps never logically defined, obtained with more or less variation both in the Greek Catholic and the Roman Catholic churches. It was the reverential devotion of believers toward God, a devotion which expressed itself by recognizing the authority of the Church and honoring her institutions. The Divine factor in this conception was not wholly absent, but it was recognized under the form of obligation and command.

THE DOCTRINE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Closely connected with the revival of classical learning, of philosophic thought and general intelligence in the sixteenth century, though not the product of these forces, the Reformation gave fresh impulse to free inquiry and independent reflection on all subjects, especially on the Christian religion and the Christian Church; for the sense of emancipation from the Roman hierarchy, as regards dogma and the offices of worship, was profound and general, among the learned and the unlearned, in every state or province where the reactionary movement of freedom had gained a foothold. The absorbing question for the more earnest thinkers pertained to the doctrines concerning personal salvation and the scriptural mode of Divine worship. The controversy of the Reformers with Rome turned mainly on two momentous practical questions: (1) How shall a man obtain from God the forgiveness of sins? (2) What is the norm or critical standard of sound Christian doctrine? The conception respecting the nature of religion took shape among ministers and people in the communities of evangelical Protestantism under the quickening influence of this controversy.

By their attitude toward current errors and ecclesiastical abuses the Reformers on the continent of Europe and in Great Britain were involved in severe social and civil as well as doctrinal conflicts with the Roman Church. From stress of necessity they were wholly occupied with living issues. Had doctrinal and ecclesiastical reform the

civil right to live? Was the exposition of the Written Word independently of Roman tradition to be tolerated? Might changes in church organization and church services be lawfully introduced? These and similar questions absorbed their time and their thoughts. The answers which they gave and maintained were developed from the fundamental principles of the Reformation—namely, justification before God by faith in Jesus Christ, and the sole authority of Holy Scripture. To expound, enforce, and defend these fundamental truths became their great spiritual work. It was concrete and practical rather than abstract and philosophical. Hence in the sixteenth century we find growing ideas respecting religion, but only few attempts at a logical construction of its nature. Definite conceptions were developed concerning Jesus Christ as the only Saviour and concerning the Written Word as the only source of true religious knowledge, also on all questions involved in the redemptive virtue of Christianity; but the philosophy of religion was not cultivated, being superseded and excluded by the absorbing practical issues of the age. Hence the difference between ethnic religions and the religion of Christ, though seen and felt to be great, was not in the sphere of thought definitely wrought out.

The sentiment of the Reformation period as to the nature of religion comes to view in the prevalent teaching respecting the spiritual obligations of the Christian. A truly religious life was saving faith in Jesus Christ, approving itself by obedience to the law of God. Obedience, or godly living, actuated by justifying faith, was evangelical piety—that is, piety was the faithful service of God according to His will taught by the Written Word, or, as Hooker expresses it, “duties of service toward God.” Such *faithful service* was *religion*.

At this point, however, a new element began to be developed; new, because not emphasized during the early centuries nor by the mediæval Church. As the Reformers laid special stress on the so-called formal principle, that the Written Word—not the traditions of the Roman Church—was the rule of faith and the only criterion of sound doctrine, they translated and circulated the Bible in the vernacular tongues; they preached Christian truth directly from the Word and as taught by the Word. By preaching, by commentaries, by catechisms, and by the circulation of the Bible among the people, it was their effort and purpose to impart and promote the *knowledge* of revealed truth.

Rome demanded and enforced an unquestioning acceptance of her dogmas, assuming that her *authority* was final and sufficient. The faith of the people (the *ecclesia audiens*) in the hierarchy or in the authoritative teaching of the Church (the *ecclesia docens*) was blind. Rome did not address both intellect and will, judgment and conscience, but principally the will, requiring passive submission to authority and conformity to prescribed ordinances. The Reformers, on the contrary, insisted on the exercise of an intelligent personal faith in Christ; therefore they taught the truth concerning Christ, that the people might know Him in whom they believed. Renouncing Roman tradition as the rule of faith, they affirmed the exclusive authority of God's Word; therefore with them it was a matter of the first importance to make the people acquainted with the teaching of the Word, that the people might be able to discriminate between evangelical truth and Roman errors. Thus *intelligence* became an element of the practical Christian life as well as obedience. From this time forth two forces were active in the growing evangelical doctrine concerning religion (1) the *worship* of God, and (2) the *knowledge* of God.

The plastic force of the Reformation “principles” (justification by faith and the exclusive authority of the Written Word) stimulated the progress of the doctrine of religion in another respect. As men are fallen, spiritually blind, by nature averse to God and prone to evil, some other questions called for an answer: Was there in human nature a basis of hope that the teaching and preaching of the Word would pronounce spiritual knowledge and beget faith? Do not the ignorance, moral perverseness, and the wickedness of sinners justify the theory of Rome that authority and power are the main dependence of the Church? not the self-verifying light of Divine truth, nor the judgment and conscience of the people? To questions of this class an answer was given; and the answer consisted in the assertion of a more scriptural conception of the spiritual life of our fallen race.

For the knowledge of God and the observance of the services of worship there was, it was held, a capacity in all men, notwithstanding the depravity of their nature or their inveterate perverseness. This capacity was a positive fitness or aptitude for Christian piety, an aptitude for faith in Christ, for Divine knowledge, and Christian morality. And the positive aptitude was commonly represented under the image of a germ or seed. The seed of personal relig-

ious character, the Reformers taught, was by the Creator implanted in the soul, a living seed that survives the fall. By Divine through grace, which is operative in the Spirit the preaching of the Gospel, this principle may become the beginning of Christian piety. As God had implanted in human nature the germ of religion, so He alone quickens this germ, develops it, and perfects it in a life of Christian faith.

According to Zwingli, the aptitude for religion is an innate idea which develops into the knowledge and fear of God. He says :

“ Gott hat dem Menschen sein Bild eingedrückt, die Heiden nennen es die Idee (informatio) eine Vorstellung, welche die Natur dem Gemüthe eingeprägt hat, das ist, ein Vorbegriff, gleichsam, eine zum voraus gegebene, anerschaffene Kenntniß von Gott. Aus diesem anerborenen Bild oder Vorbegriffe oder Vorgefühl von der Gottheit entspringt die Furcht vor Gott.” *

The principle of religion, according to Zwingli, is immanent in human nature, and ineradicable, being an endowment bestowed on all men by the Creator. The implanted image is an anticipation or presentiment of Deity, perception and feeling being its principal elements.

Says Calvin : “ Experience testifies that the seeds of religion are sown by God in every heart.” “ Omnipotens inditum esse divinitus religionis semen.” † Again, he says that men are chargeable with sinfully corrupting the seeds of Divine knowledge, which, by the wonderful operation of nature, are sown in their hearts, so that they produce no good and fair crop. “ Semen notitiae Dei ex mirabili naturae artificio mentibus inspersum est.” ‡ This thought is warranted by the teaching of Paul in Rom. i. 18-20 and Rom. ii. 14, 15.

Religion being sown or implanted by God, like a seed, in the heart, it becomes an irrepressible impulse, a felt want, that spontaneously seeks and longs for the corresponding spiritual Object which will satisfy the inborn spiritual want. Some traces of this principle may be found in pagan philosophers and some in the scholastics of the Middle Ages ; but the Reformers and some of their successors during the seventeenth century emphasized the principle with special force, and turned it to account in the service of progress in the accepted doctrine of religion.

The idea of Zwingli, of Calvin, and other Reformed theologians, that the religious

principle was innate, and to be compared to a seed sown in the soil of the human heart, entered into the Christian consciousness of the Reformation age—especially into the Reformed branch of Protestantism. It was unfolded into a better doctrine of religion. Accordingly it was maintained that the principal elements of piety, or the Christian service of God, are two—*knowledge* and *worship*. A distinction was made between intellectual and ethical knowledge. The knowing that was an essential constituent of piety was not *cognitio*, but *notitia* or *habitus* ; not merely a notion or mental apprehension, but a knowledge of God derived from an experience of His mercy, and of the gracious benefits that believers enjoy in the forgiveness of sins. True piety, the intelligent service of God in Christian worship, grew forth from such spiritual experience or *habitus*. This was the *conditio sine qua non*. Says Zwingli :

“ Ea adhesio, qua Deo utpote solo bono inconcusse fudit, pietas est, religio est.” * The actual, practical appropriation of the gracious gifts of God, prompted by the necessities of the soul, was religion.

Zwingli touches a richer idea when he calls religion the marriage of the soul to God : “ anima Deique connubium ; ” † doubtless suggested by the profound imagery of Scripture. ‡ But this rich thought was not seized by himself nor by the age and consistently unfolded.

The same view of Divine knowledge was taught by other reformers. I quote from Calvin :

“ Virtutum Dei sensus nobis idoneus est pietatis magister, ex qua religio nascitur ; donec enim sentiant homines, Deo se omnia debere, ut nihil preter illum quærendum sit, nunquam ei se voluntaria observatione subjiciunt.” §

According to this teaching, religion was piety, and the principal factor in piety was subjective, consisting chiefly not in objective or theoretic *cognitio*, but in a feeling, *sensus*, or an inner consciousness of God, *habitus*, arising from an experience of the blessings of forgiving grace, *notitia Dei ejusque beneficiorum*.

THE DOCTRINE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

During the latter half of the sixteenth century, and still more so throughout the seventeenth, the Reformation doctrine of religion, that it was personal piety, a dis-

* Zwingli, I., 273. † Institutes, I., 4, 1. ‡ Ib., I., 5, 15.

* Zw., III., 173.

‡ Eph. v., 27-33 ; Rev. xix., 7-9.

† Ib., III., 180.

§ Calv. Inst., I., 2, 1.

position of the heart toward God, gradually lost its force, becoming less vital and more theoretic. The two constituent elements, knowledge and worship, held their place in the conception ; they were even more and more emphasized. But intellectual apprehension, *cognitio*, gained the ascendancy over personal experience, *habitus*. The knowledge of God, agreeably to the intellectualizing trend of the age, came less by the exercise of Divine confidence, less from the felt sense of the benefits of grace, less from obedience to God's will, and more from rational reflection on God. Thus the experimental idea of religion as taught by Zwingli, Luther, Calvin, Peter Martyr, and all the Reformers of the first generation, underwent a great change, being in large measure supplanted by a philosophic idea and a scholastic method. Knowledge and worship were its two distinct features ; but each was intellectual rather than spiritual, formal more than vital. Says Heidegger : "Religion is the right way of duly knowing and worshipping the true God."

"Notitia et cultus Dei religionis nomine venit, quae recta verum Deum rite cognoscendi et colendi ratio est." *

To the same effect is the later declaration of Wyttensbach : "Religion is the right way of knowing and worshipping God."

"Religio est recta Deum cognoscendi et colendi ratio." †

Of equivalent force are the words of Bishop Butler, who was contemporaneous with Wyttensbach : "The essence of natural religion may be said to consist in religious regards to *God the Father Almighty* ; and the essence of revealed religion, as distinguished from natural, to consist in religious regards to *the Son* and to *the Holy Ghost*. And the obligation we are under, of paying these religious regards to each of these Divine persons respectively, arises from the respective relations which they each stand in to us." ‡

With this definition theologians and other scholars (in Great Britain and on the Continent) of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in accord. The right method of knowing and worshipping the true God was religion. Dissent and opposition came from the school of Pietism, introduced by Spener § during the latter half of the seventeenth century, and supported by Au-

gust Hermann Francke, Joachim Lange, and others, who laid stress on our emotional life, bringing to the consciousness of their age the truth of the mystic element in Christianity.

The definition of religion propounded by Heidegger and others in behalf of Christian theology was in course of time modified and made to do service in the interest of philosophy. Christian Wolf, the successor of Leibnitz, the systematizer of the metaphysical speculations of this great philosopher, accepting the traditional opinion of the Protestant churches on religion, resolved it into a logical formula, putting it in the words of Heidegger, with a few apparently slight but significant variations. It is expressed in these words :

"Religio Deum cognoscendi et colendi modus est."

Instead of *verum Deum* we have simply *Deum* ; instead of *recta ratio* we have, not *rectus modus*, but only *modus* without a positive adjunct, the qualifying adverb *rite* being also omitted. According to Heidegger, religion was the *right* or scriptural order of knowing and worshipping the *true* God ; but according to the definition of philosophy, religion was merely a mode of knowing and worshipping God ; implying that any mode of worship, and the worship of any god, true or false, was true religion. I have contrasted the two formulas, not because the one is wholly true and the other wholly false, but to set forth the downward movement of thought among scholars on the question.

The validity of this conception Wolf (1679-1754) endeavored to establish and defend by logical argument, claiming even that the doctrines of religion could be proved mathematically. As the proposition embodies the substance of the opinion which had been current in the circles of culture for two centuries, the doctrine in this its more philosophic and less Christian form gained general acceptance, and it prevailed alike among Rationalists and Supranaturalists. Taking this proposition as a principle, we should have to define Christianity to be the true mode of knowing and worshipping the true God—as was done by Heidegger. On the other hand, Mohammedanism and every ethnic religion would be a false or defective mode of knowing and worshipping God. The difference between the Christian religion and non-Christian religions comes to be a difference, not of kind, but of degree ; and it turns rather on the manner of worship than on its Object.

* Heidegger, Med. 5, 1633-1698.

† Wyttensbach, I., II., 1706-1779. The variation of Wyttensbach's conception from the conception of Heidegger shows the progress of the rationalistic spirit.

‡ 1692-1752. Analogy, Part II., 1, 2.

§ 1635-1705.

DOCTRINE ON RELIGION OF SCHLEIERMACHER.

This conception held sway in the theological systems of the Protestant churches, though not without opposition from Mystics and Pietists, until the opening of our century, when Schleiermacher * had risen to the zenith of his strength. He constitutes the important epoch in modern theological thought. Waiving the matter of worship and knowledge, he fixes his eye on *feeling*, the pathic element of the soul, an element of religious life which during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had not been accentuated, neither by philosophy nor by the reigning theologies. Like the Reformers, Schleiermacher views religion in the concrete. It is not a theory nor a ceremony, but a life of devotion, growing forth from an intuitive sense of absolute dependence on God.

Schleiermacher completed the circle of possible subjective principles, the ethical, the cognitive or intellectual, and the emotional being the three fundamental distinctions in the organism of the human soul. As the Reformers had passed from the activity of the will, or from worship to the intelligence, asserting the necessity of a knowledge of revealed truth, while the necessity of worship was retained, so Schleiermacher, who though a Reformed theologian, had been measurably moulded by and was in living sympathy with historical Pietism as this existed in the Unitas Fratrum—now commonly known as Moravians—passed from worship and knowledge to a principle no less original and essential. But in making the transition to *feeling*, both worship and knowledge lost their rights. Schleiermacher not only recognized the just claims of feeling, but he set it on the throne. *Feeling* became the determinative factor of his conception of religion. In this respect he was less conservative than the epoch of the Reformation.

When the Reformers advanced from the ethical to the cognitive, from worship to knowledge, neither worship nor obedience was superseded or eliminated. Both entered into the growing idea of religion and practically held their place—at least during the sixteenth century—as co-ordinate members. But when Schleiermacher, seeing the deficiencies of the theology of his age, discerned the radical significance of feeling, he eliminated both knowledge and obedience from his principle. Obedience and knowl-

edge both occupy a place in his religious system, but neither is co-ordinate with feeling. As by him the feeling of dependence alone is held to be original and determinative, feeling conditions knowledge and worship.

Schleiermacher expresses his principle in the following words :

“ Das gemeinsame aller noch so verschiedenen Auszerungen der Frömmigkeit, wodurch diese sich zugleich von allen andern Gefühlen unterscheiden, also das sich selbst gleiche Wesen der Frömmigkeit ist dieses, dasz wir uns unsrer selbst als schlechthin abhängig, oder, was dasselbe sagen will, als in Beziehung mit Gott bewuszt sind.” *

The thought expressed by this quotation, or the principle on which the whole system hinges, may be said to be “ *das schlechthinige Abhängigkeitsgefühl*.” That which is distinctive of all religions and common to all is the *feeling of absolute dependence on Deity*, a feeling of which we have an immediate consciousness.

In this new conception Schleiermacher reproduces and combines two historical ideas : one that was prominent among the Reformers, and another asserted in the seventeenth century by the Pietists. Affirming the absolute *sovereignty* of God and the absolute *dependence* of man on the Divine will, as Gottschalk of the ninth century had done, the Reformers—those especially who adhered to the Calvinistic school—made this twofold idea the starting point for the doctrine of unconditional predestination, which they wrought out into a complete system ; but Schleiermacher, starting with the same idea regarding God’s sovereignty and man’s dependence, applied it, not only to the realm of thought and Divine knowledge, but to the sphere of feeling and experience—the product of the one being primarily theoretic, and the product of the other practical and experimental. Schleiermacher fails to do full justice to the Divine factor in the idea common to him and to the Reformers, while he puts disproportionate emphasis on the human factor. The Reformers fail to do full justice to the human factor in the common idea while they put disproportionate emphasis on the Divine factor. Moreover, in laying chief stress not on a metaphysical hypothesis concerning the Divine will, but on our *sense* of dependence on God, of which all men are immediately conscious, Schleiermacher reasserted and appropriated under a modified form the truth involved in Mysticism, and

reproduced by the Pietism of Spener. Schleiermacher thus combined two historical forces—absolute dependence and religious feeling, or logical thought and the mystical sentiment. Forces which since the sixteenth century had been antagonizing each other were by him combined in a new theory of religion. But the pivot of the new theory was not the postulate of dependence, not Divine sovereignty, but *human feeling*, or the *sense* of dependence on the absolute God.

Hence, in so far as the powerful influence of the Schleiermacherian principle has been moulding the religious life of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of religion is anthropological rather than theological. The human factor is predominant, not the intellectual nor the moral forces of our nature, but the emotional.

CRITICAL REVIEW.

The doctrine of religion had now completed the human circle. Beginning with the *ethical*, as expressed in the services of worship, the doctrine after the lapse of ages had passed to the recognition of the *intellectual* element, affirming the rights of reason and judgment. This new position, gained by the Reformation, though a positive advance upon the traditional conception of the mediæval age, was nevertheless inadequate, and the sense of the deficiencies of this advanced position showed itself in the pietistic revival of the seventeenth century. Finally the great theological genius of modern Germany asserts the claims of spiritual *feeling*; thus full justice was done to the human side of religion. Each element is valid; nor may either be ignored or undervalued. But neither by the Reformers nor by Schleiermacher were these three subjective elements wrought out into an organic whole. This is due to the fact that the Divine factor of religion was either overlooked or the apprehension of its claims was seriously defective.

I. The main current of religious thought and religious practice has in nearly every age been predominantly humanitarian. Man—his services, his opinions, his desires and inclinations in their relation to the Divine Being—is the chief, even among some pagan nations and some Christian communities, the exclusive factor in the doctrine or the opinion respecting the religious life. As in philosophy, Idealism denies the independent reality of the world; as in ethics a one-sided theory of volition may deny objective moral truth to be the substance of

positive freedom; so in the doctrine of religion the constant immediate action of God on the heathen has commonly been unrecognized or denied. God requires worship; this is an obligation; He accepts sacrifices; He may hear prayers; He may bestow rich blessings or inflict judgments; something may be known of His attributes or the dealings of His providence; He promises the forgiveness of sins and eternal life to those who believe in Jesus Christ; and to Christians He is the One in whom they may trust with confiding assurance for all temporal and spiritual good. So much is commonly acknowledged; but the religious life is referred, either mainly or sometimes exclusively, not to God, but to man. Religion is a human interest, an experience of each man's heart, or it is the spiritual state of a community in relation to God and the heavenly world, showing itself in pious sentiments, in Divine knowledge and moral conduct or Christian righteousness. This conception, with modifications more or less radical, as it appears in the course of history, has been, not exclusively prevalent, but predominant either as a tradition, or a current sentiment, or an approved doctrine among pagan nations and in the Christian Church. God has not entered into the doctrine as the *primary* and *essential factor*.*

II. Among pagan nations religion was and is generally a *slavish observance* of external ceremonies and formal prayers that do not and cannot abolish the law of sin, nor deliver either the masses or the ruling classes from the miseries of vice and wickedness.

In the Greek Catholic Church during the flourishing period of the first four or five centuries the immanence of God was an emphatic principle. Christ was held to be the central truth in the idea of Christianity. He was present with His people as the Head of His Church, and He was in communion with them in sacraments, in ordinances, and by His Word. Yet in the prevailing current of sentiment human activity was preponderant. Divine activity did not hold a co-ordinate place. Hence some supersti-

* The principal exception to this general statement is the theory of unconditional predestination. Yet the exception is not as significant as to some minds it may at first appear. A broad line of separation is drawn between the elect and the non-elect. In regard to both classes the doctrine on religion is one-sided. The attitude of God toward the non-elect, who consist of the masses of mankind both in Pagan and Christian countries, is an attitude of aversion and displeasure, not of positive sympathy. As regards the elect, unconditional predestination passes to the opposite error, affirming disproportionately the action of sovereign grace. Effectual calling, repentance and faith, perseverance and sanctification are ascribed to God alone, little stress, if any, being laid on the positive receptivity or the inborn capability of the responsive action of the psychic man.

tious views about the water of Holy Baptism and the natural elements of the Lord's Supper soon intruded themselves; these were accompanied and followed by a false reverence for pictures and images, by the invocation of saints, and by the prevalence of asceticism. From these and similar facts it may be seen that the sense of the presence and direct action of God in Christ upon believers and in them by the Spirit, was obscured.

The current of thought which made man's activity toward God the chief thing in religion, and reduced the sympathetic activity of God toward man to the minimum deepened and widened in the Roman Catholic Church of the Middle Ages. It may be supposed that this allegation is contradicted by history. Was not the hierarchy a sacerdotal corporation, invested with Christ's authority? Did it not claim to possess the rich treasures of Divine grace? Was not the plenitude of grace dispensed to all the faithful? How, then, can it be said that in the doctrine concerning religion the activity of God was not emphasized? The answer is given by the Roman system. The hierarchy claims to be the representative and duly authorized agent of God. The Pope is the vicar of Christ. Christ is in heaven. Christ is infinitely removed from the faithful, having delegated His authority and saving virtue to the successor of St. Peter, who teaches and governs and absolves in Christ's stead; but Christ glorified does not Himself by His holy Spirit enter directly into loving fellowship with the faithful. He is not a co-ordinate factor in religion, but has authorized the *ecclesia docens* to be the mediator between Himself and believers. According to the Roman system, religion consists in the service of faith and obedience which believers offer to the objects of worship according to the order prescribed by the Church. The activities of believers toward the Church, or toward God as represented by the Church, constitute the principal if not the only factor in the religious life.

III. Though variously modified (though knowledge, the new element in the doctrine of religion asserted by the Reformers, was more experimental and spiritual in the sixteenth century, and more intellectual and formal in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), yet the Reformation conception was as to its essentials the reigning conception in theological circles down to the time of Schleiermacher. As formulated by Heidegger and other theologians, religion was the method of knowing and worshiping God.

In one respect this definition of the nature of religion is valid. Worship and some measure of knowledge enter necessarily into ethnic religion, and especially into the religion of Christ. We cannot take issue with the Reformers and the theologians who succeeded them when they lay stress on the knowledge of God, much less when they insist on a knowledge which is the fruit of love and obedience. Spiritual ignorance and indifference to worship contravene the nature of the religious life; yet their conception that religion is the right way of knowing and worshipping God is inadequate. It is not commensurate to the nature of ethnic religion, much less to the nature of the Christian religion.

In its application to the religion of Christ the conception lacks distinctiveness and breadth. Of Christianity the fundamental truth is Jesus Christ, the Divine-human Mediator. From Him, the Author and Finisher of faith, the kingdom of God derives its existence and its heavenly resources. The ministry and the sacraments are instituted by Him. By *His* Spirit the Written Word is inspired. He is the Mediator of all acceptable worship. His person and mediatorial work constitute the ground of all the doctrines peculiar to Christianity. The true worship of God differs from the rites of paganism, and the true knowledge of God differs from all pagan myths by virtue of His *life* and His *redemption*. But this fundamental and distinguishing truth is not recognized by the Wolfian formula nor by the definite propositions of Bishop Butler; nor is it by implication included. The formula proceeds on the assumption that Christianity is one of many religions; it belongs to a class—all, whether pagan, or Jewish, or Christian, being as to their essential qualities the same. The difference between them is a difference of some essential attributes rather than of substance, a difference in degrees of excellence rather than of kind.

Neither as regards any ethnic religion is the formula under review thorough and adequate. Every religion, no matter how horrid its myths, how absurd its superstitions, how debasing its worship, has in itself a force deeper than knowledge, an element more original than the rites of worship. That force, that element, is the Divine instinct, a self-motion of the human spirit toward communion with God in devotion and righteousness. This includes the ethical impulse. The intellectual and the ethical, though not identical, are nevertheless one personal life. To say the least,

spontaneity of will is connate with the first perceptive acts of the intellect. Religious knowledge stands in the religious will, a will bound up in an immediate relationship to God. The intuitive perceptions of Deity include the determining activity of the moral nature no less than the Divine capacities of the intellect. From this twofold principle, latent in human personality, have been developed all myths and all rites of worship.

To this criticism it may be objected that rites of worship, the *Deum colendi modus* emphasizes the determination of the will. In one respect the objection is valid. The worship of Deity springs from the action of the religious will. And the oldest element in the sentiment or opinion concerning religion is the obligation of worship. But the notion of worship embraced no more than external rites and ceremonies. This notion was the prevalent one among pagan nations, and it became predominant in the Christian Church. Not that the actual religion of the Christian Church consisted only or principally in external observances, but that the predominant *theory* respecting its nature put emphasis mainly on external conformity to ecclesiastical rites. The demands of man's ethical life were not duly recognized by the reigning sentiment of the mediaeval ages. Nor was this demand duly recognized by the traditional doctrine of the Protestant Church as expressed by the traditional formula. The *Deum colendi modus* covered the offices of worship prescribed by the Reformed and Lutheran churches, just as the *Deum cognoscendi modus* embraced, not the spiritual knowledge of God, but the doctrinal formulas of the sixteenth century as held and taught by the Confessions of Faith. The principle that true religion necessarily involves personal righteousness, or that the positive salvation of Christ is personal activity in Him and according to His will, was not a necessary part of the *doctrine* as expressed by the formula: *Deum cognoscendi et colendi modus*; however true it may be that the pulpit taught and enforced more complete religious truth, and that the experience of the membership was deeper and more vital. This defect in the doctrine was one cause of the formalism and spiritual deadness that gained the ascendancy on the continent of Europe and in Great Britain during the mediaeval age of evangelical Protestantism.

But the traditional doctrine will be seen to be still more defective, when considered relatively to God, the Object of knowledge and worship. The formula recognizes but

one factor in religion, or but one agent—that is man. The knowledge affirmed by it is the knowledge that man has concerning God; the worship is the service which man renders to God. In this conception of religion God indeed has a place; but only as the Object, as the Person to be known and adored; not a place as an Agent. God is the *passive* Object of knowledge; the religious are those that seek to know His will as revealed in Holy Scripture. God also is the Object of worship; Him, the Triune God, the religious honor and adore, and to Him they bring their offerings of thanksgiving. The principal activity is human activity.

These elements of the conception of religion are unquestionably valid elements. God is the Object of religious knowledge, and the Object of rational worship. In these respects the definition is not open to criticism. But the proposition that God is the Object of knowledge and of worship expresses but one side of religious life. In every religion, whether pagan or Christian, there are not only two terms—God and man—but there are also two factors, two agencies. God is not only worshipped and known, He is also active toward man as really as man is active toward God.

Even the proposition that God and man are both active does not express the whole truth. In the history of our race God is even in a much more profound sense than man a factor in religion; He is ever the primary activity, while man is ever secondary and responsive; God is communicative toward man, while man is receptive toward God. So Paul argued when he stood in the midst of the Areopagus.* A doctrine that does not affirm Divine agency to be as really an essential part of the religious life as human agency falls short of being commensurate to the objective truth by the omission of the principal factor.

IV. The theory of Schleiermacher supplies a defect in the traditional definition by recognizing and asserting the rights of moral and spiritual feeling, thus imparting a more earnest tone to theological science. Yet he also fails to assert the principal factor in the idea of religion. Though he supplements the traditional definition, his conception is still more intensely subjective. Objective truth has less force in his system than in the traditional systems which he set aside.

According to Schleiermacher, feeling or the conscious sense of direct relationship to

* Acts xvii. 22-31.

God is religion. Man's relation to God is the relation of absolute dependence ; and this sense of absolute dependence, as regards his existence, his activity, and his condition for weal or woe, is, as he maintains, the germ of the natural religious life, the principle of all theological science. But Schleiermacher's theory is open to the grave objection that it wrongs the autonomy of man. Though relative, autonomy is nevertheless real. Human personality is its own law. Feeling is spontaneous, but not supreme. It is not the taproot from which the will and the intellect grow as branches. Latent personality is an organic unity. In it the emotional, the rational, and voluntary principles are the triune Divine image. The will is not less original nor less spontaneous than sensibility. Ethical life is active in the feeling and in the consciousness of dependence, giving to both consciousness and feeling an ethical intonation and a personal habit. It may even be said that the spontaneous motions of the will are active in the very first impulses of feeling and in the earliest dawn of consciousness, active as a formative force awakening spiritual tendencies and shaping in the bud the individual turn of every man's religious history.

If we recognize the relative autonomy of man, the co-ordinate force of spontaneous self determination, in human personality, we may go a step further, and even challenge Schleiermacher's doctrine of dependence. Given the personality of God and the personality of man, the question may be put : Is human dependence *absolute*? Man's original existence is indeed referable alone to the creative Word ; and his continued existence presupposes at every instant God's upholding and governing energy. But man is not a passive thing. Passiveness would directly contradict ethical life. He is not as clay in the hands of a potter.* Therefore it cannot be said that human activity in any relation or toward any object depends *absolutely* on God. According to the Divine idea of manhood, self-related activity, the free determination of his conduct toward God, and the formation of his own spiritual character are among his essential prerogatives. Formed in God's image, he is as to his essence godlike ; being capable of acknowledging and honoring his Creator, or of renouncing and dishonoring Him. By an abuse of his high prerogatives he may despise the authority of God, violate His laws,

and resist His omnipotence. This cardinal and distinguishing factor, the autonomy of will, in human personality the Schleiermacherian hypothesis fails to include ; hence it makes religion mainly a sentiment, a subjective discipline, comparatively destitute of objective reality and of moral stamina.

So soon as we enter the realm of human personality and emphasize the autonomy of will, we are in the midst of conditions and relations very different from the relations and conditions of feeling. Normal autonomy presupposes an unconditional personal authority above the plane of human history, the authority of an ultimate law to which man's will is subject. The perception of this authority is immediate. A supreme law possesses man. It is active in his conscience. Though free to affirm the supreme law or to deny it, he does not sunder himself from it. God commands and forbids ; man obeys or disobeys. Here in the ethical sphere we transcend the feeling of absolute dependence ; we have entered the realm of volition and self-determination. The relation between man and God is not on the one side absolute dependence, and on the other absolute sovereignty, but the relation is one of reciprocal activity between God and man —between the Divine will and the human will.

It is, further, deserving of notice that Schleiermacher's doctrine expresses but a part of the truth, even respecting human feeling. Ignoring the spontaneous determinative forces of ethical life, he also overlooks the fact that feeling has in it an ethical tone. Man has indeed an inalienable sense of Divine dependence ; dependence, however, touches but one chord ; all the chords of Divine feeling are not struck. In the structure of his heart there is slumbering a richer tone. Man has likewise a sense of *kinship* with God. God is for his soul the necessary complement ; and man is for God the suitable object of His love. The sense of kinship is as profound, as spontaneous, and inalienable as the sense of dependence.

The lack of due recognition of man's Divine kinship, of the affinity between the being of man and the Being of God, in Schleiermacher's hypothesis, kept the new doctrine in sympathy with the one sided character of the traditional conception. As Heidegger and Wolff had done, so Schleiermacher excluded *God's living agency* from the doctrine of religion. In the pre-Schleiermacherian definition, God was the Object of knowledge and of worship ; in the new doctrine God is the Object on whom man feels

* The imagery of Paul in Rom. ix. 21 teaches the absolute sovereignty of God's electing love, not the nature of human personality.

himself to be absolutely dependent. But in neither the traditional definition nor in the Schleiermacherian hypothesis is God Himself a factor. Man's conscious sense of dependence is the germ of religion, and from this germ all religious phenomena in the sphere of practice and of knowledge, of science and of art, are developed. The positive agent is man; God is a term. He does not enter really into religious life. God is remote, not near; and in His remoteness He is majestic and unsympathetic. He confronts the spiritual sense, but He does not quicken it into life nor nourish it. He is to be loved, adored, honored, worshipped; but He is not the vital antecedent of piety; He does not of His own motion enter into fellowship with worshippers as a Father with His children.

The place assigned to God in religion, no less by the teaching of the Old Testament than by the teaching of the New Testament, but especially by the incarnation and personal history of the Son of God, is wanting alike in the traditional formula "Deum cognoscendi et colendi modus," and in the complementary hypothesis of Schleiermacher.

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PROFESSOR DRIVER ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE BISHOP OF COLCHESTER.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), June, 1892.

II.

IN a former article some reasons were adduced, from the point of view of a non-Hebraist, for considering Dr. Driver to be, in some important respects, an untrustworthy authority for that large section of the public who are content to know what a writer of reputation has said on any subject, without going into the further question, what grounds he has for saying it. Some remarks are now offered, first, on his method of dealing with one particular portion of the Old Testament, the Book of Psalms.

Much that Dr. Driver has written on this important section of Holy Scripture is, in substance, identical with what has been said before by other writers, though he says it better than most of them. But, when "critical conclusions" come in view, we observe a singular and ominous difference. His method of treatment then becomes a

bald, prosaic literalism, singularly unsuited to the subject with which he is dealing, and not observable when other poetical books are under review. The reason of this difference is, perhaps, not far to seek. No part of the Old Testament has been considered more distinctly, in a Christian sense, "Messianic" * than many of the Psalms. The exigencies, therefore, of rationalistic criticism require that the Psalms, in this aspect, should be made the object of special attack; and a prosaic literalism in the interpretation of them furnishes for this purpose a weapon ready to hand. This characteristic is especially observable in that section of the work which deals with the so-called "Davidic" Psalms. A remark of Dr. Driver's, to the effect that no true ideas of Biblical criticism can be derived from allusions to the subject in contemporary literature, receives a curious illustration from a writer in the *Times* newspaper (March 12, 1892), who begins a highly laudatory notice of the "Introduction" by remarking that "fifty years ago most English readers believed that . . . David wrote all the Psalms." Had this writer taken the trouble to become an "English reader" himself, and referred to his Bible (or to the book he was reviewing, pp. 347-8), he would have seen that twenty-eight psalms claim by their titles another authorship than David's. Of the remainder, forty-nine are anonymous, no author being named in their titles. Thus the largest number of Psalms which tradition has ever ascribed to David, instead of being the whole, is less than half. Of the number so ascribed, whether the whole, or half, or less than half, can reasonably be believed to have been really the work of David, is a question of no great importance. But the reasons given by Dr. Driver for contesting the Davidic authorship are often singularly weak and inconclusive. He entirely ignores the *poetical* character of these compositions, which, by their deep spirituality, are, as he himself confesses, well fitted to be the "hymn-book of the Christian Church," and requires that their expressions should exactly correspond with the historical record of David's life, as we have it in the Books of Samuel. Thus, on Psalm lv., he remarks, "The situation is very unlike that of David during Absalom's rebellion; the Psalmist lives among foes in a

* The words "Messiah" and "Messianic" frequently occur in Dr. Driver's pages, but with no clue to the meaning he attaches to them. From the expression (p. 334), "The Messiah who will rule successfully, and complete the building of the Temple," we infer that that meaning does not include the sense in which the words have been usually understood by Christians.

city, whose walls they occupy with their patrols ; from the violence which they exercise within it he would gladly escape to the desert," &c. Has Dr. Driver never heard of a poet expressing himself in terms which have no sort of correspondence with his actual circumstances, or even, it may be, with his real desires ? When Cowper wrote :

" Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
Of unsuccessful and successful wars,
Might never reach me more !"—

are we to suppose that he was really prepared to exchange Olney or Weston for the backwoods of America ? Or, if not, are we to deny that the lines were really Cowper's ? Or, when we read in the "Christian Year" :

" I thought it scorn with Thee to dwell,
A Hermit in a silent cell,
While, gaily sweeping by,
Wild Fancy blew his bugle strain,
And marshalled all his gallant train
In the world's wondering eye,"

can this be only ascribed to Keble if we can prove that his habitual residence was in a literal hermit's cell, not in Oriel College or Hursley Parsonage ? Criticism so prosaic and matter-of-fact as this must obviously be wide of the mark when employed on such compositions as the Psalms.

On Psalm xxii. 27-30, we are asked to suppose that David, as a Psalmist, must have been incapable of foreseeing or imagining that wide prevalence of the religion of Jehovah which was undoubtedly anticipated by more than one of the later prophets : a supposition which there are no grounds whatever for our entertaining. Even "inspiration" in the lower sense—that in which we ascribe it to every poet worthy of the name—might account for the outburst : " All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto Jehovah ; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before Thee. For the kingdom is Jehovah's, and He is the governor among the nations."

On Psalm li., Dr. Driver adopts the grotesque theory that the Psalm represents the feelings, not of an individual, but of the nation collectively ; a view against which every line of the Psalm itself reclaims, except the last two verses, which many commentators, of various dates and schools, have agreed in regarding as a later addition to the original composition. The grand paradox of verse 4, " Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in Thy sight," so impressive in the mouth of the theocratic king, directly representing

to the people the majesty and holiness of God, evokes only the flat truism that David had undoubtedly sinned very grievously against his neighbour.* Perhaps no more inadequate criticism on David as the reputed author of this and kindred Psalms has ever been offered than that which is contained in the following passage :

" David had many high and honourable qualities ; he was loyal, generous, disinterested, amiable, a faithful friend, a just and benevolent ruler ; and the narrative in the Book of Samuel shows that his religion elevated and ennobled his aims, and, except on the occasion of his great fall, exerted a visible influence upon the tenor of his life. Still, as we should not gather from the history that he was exposed to a succession of trials and afflictions of the kind represented in the Psalms ascribed to him, so we should not gather from it that he was a man of the deep and intense spiritual feeling reflected in the Psalms that bear his name."

The conception of a man capable of deep spiritual emotions and high aspirations, and capable also of expressing those emotions and aspirations in impassioned utterances, yet displaying in the recorded acts of his public life scarcely a trace of this deeper and higher side of his character, is one which Dr. Driver has evidently not been capable of forming. Yet this duality of nature, or of aspect, is surely among the best ascertained phenomena of human character. In modern times, the recollections of intimate friends, letters, diaries, and other autobiographical sources, often reveal to us, after his death, the real character of the man " in his habit as he lived." In the tenth century before Christ these means did not exist. To say that the want of them cannot have been supplied, in some measure, by the Psalms in which David has recorded his need of divine forgiveness and grace, or his joy in divine favour and goodness, but that our estimate of him must be formed solely by the narrative of the compiler of the Books of Samuel, is to introduce into our judgment of human character, and into the " literature of the Old Testament," canons which in the case of any other books, or any other persons, would be regarded as too arbitrary and unreal to demand serious consideration.

It is instructive to contrast the treatment which the Prince of Psalmists has received at the hands of the Anglican Professor—the cold, unsympathetic estimate, the hard, unimaginative literalism, the minute and cap-

* At p. 355, Dr. Driver assumes, without attempting to prove, that " build Thou the walls of Jerusalem," v. 18, should be translated *rebuild* or *restore* : at p. 367, he takes this assumption as a ground for denying the Psalm to David : " the restoration of Jerusalem would be the sign that God was reconciled to His people."

tious criticism—with the warm and generous spirit in which the non-Christian author of “Heroes and Hero Worship,” has recorded his appreciation of the character of David, as revealed in those psalms which no “higher criticism” had taught Carlyle to assign to unknown and imaginary authors :

“ David, the Hebrew King, had fallen into sins enough ; blackest crimes ; there was no want of sins. . . . What are faults, what are the outward details of a life, if the inner secret of it, the remorse, temptations, true, often-baffled, never-ended struggle of it be forgotten ? ‘ It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps.’ Of all acts, is not, for a man, *repentance* the most divine ? The deadliest sin, I say, were that same supercilious consciousness of no sin ; that is death ; the heart so conscious is divorced from sincerity, humility, and fact ; is dead ; it is ‘ pure ’ as dead dry sand is pure. David’s life and history, as written for us in those psalms of his, I consider to be the truest emblem ever given of a man’s moral progress and warfare here below. All earnest souls will ever discern in it the faithful struggle of an earnest human soul towards what is good and best. Struggle often baffled, sore baffled, down as into entire wreck ; yet a struggle never ended ; ever with tears, repentance, true unconquerable purpose, begun anew.”

There is something almost pathetic in the complaint (p. 408, note) “ It is surprising that Delitzsch should treat Psalms lxxxviii., lxxxix., as compositions of the age of Solomon.” Dr. Driver has been wounded in the house of his friends. The conversion of Delitzsch, late in life, to the “critical” view of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. has been hailed with an exultation which is quite natural, for his is a *clarum et venerabile non-men* among Biblical critics. That Delitzsch should, nevertheless, have maintained an independent judgment on the date of particular Psalms must naturally be surprising to one wedded to the rationalistic view of the Old Testament. But other surprises may, perhaps, await Dr. Driver when he is confronted by “ a race of scholars to whom it is a matter of absolute indifference whether they are regarded as ‘ scientific ’ or not, and who will analyse and dissect the assertions of Wellhausen and Kuennen, and their disciples, as mercilessly as if they had the misfortune to be critics of the orthodox type.”* The great facts and persons of Old Testament history will remain, whether “ endorsed by Kuennen ” or not ; and in spite of Dr. Driver’s dogmatic assertion that belief in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch cannot be maintained, that belief, if only a reasonable latitude be allowed to the term *authorship*, will undoubtedly continue to

be maintained, and, what is more, will continue to satisfy minds not less acute than that of Dr. Driver himself, though less versed in the niceties of Hebrew scholarship and the subtleties of German criticism.

The grave questions raised by Psalm cx., as well as by passages in other books—questions which affect directly the infallibility of our Lord Jesus Christ as a teacher—need not here be discussed, as they have been fully treated of by more competent authorities. Two remarks, however, may be offered.

To the unsophisticated intelligence of an ordinary reader, there is no evading the alternatives put before us by such a passage as St. John v. 46, “ Had ye believed Moses ye would have believed Me ; for he wrote of Me.” If the rationalists are to be believed, Moses never wrote a single line which can be supposed, even remotely or allusively, to have predicted or prefigured Christ. Of three things, therefore, one : either the words quoted are, as all Christians have hitherto believed them to be, literally and absolutely true ; or our Lord never uttered those words, though St. John has recorded them as His ; or He is not an infallible teacher.

Secondly, the attempts which have been made by men whose devotion to the Catholic faith is unquestionable to reconcile that faith with the demands of rationalistic criticism are such as would, if the subject were not so grave a one, provoke only a smile of incredulity. Thus Mr. Gore, in “ *Lux Mundi*,” falls back on the theory of “ unconsciousness ” in the writers who perverted the ancient laws or histories. The germ, he says, of the Mosaic enactments contained in the few fragments which Dr. Driver, or even Wellhausen, would allow to be the work of Moses, was gradually developed ; “ the whole result being constantly attributed, *probably unconsciously and certainly not from any intention to deceive*, to the original founder.” Again, “ What we are asked to admit is *not conscious perversion, but unconscious idealising of history*, the reading back into past records of ritual development which was really later. Now inspiration excludes conscious deception or pious fraud, but it appears to be quite consistent with this sort of idealising ; always supposing that the result read back into the earlier history does represent the real purpose of God, and only anticipates its realisation.” These sentences set us wondering. Would a writer (we ask ourselves) who should “ read back ” into the Missal or the Breviary the first Post-communion prayer

* Rev. J. I. Lias in *Churchman*, April 1892.

of the Anglican Office,* or the Prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men," find that "unconscious idealising" was the term employed to characterise the "literary form" which he had adopted? The sentence above quoted comes (in the second edition of "Lux Mundi") at the bottom of a page. We turn the leaf to seek an explanation of the distinction between "unconscious idealising" and "pious fraud;" but we seek in vain.

The fact is, that this theory of unconsciousness is one which, to adopt the *Times* reviewer's phrase on the traditional view of the Old Testament, "will not bear a moment's serious examination." The idea of the "Deuteronomist" unconsciously ascribing to Moses long discourses which he had himself composed out of his own head, is to an ordinary mind unthinkable; it belongs to a world in which two and two do not necessarily make four, and two sides of a triangle are not invariably greater than the third. "Unconsciousness" might be pleaded for all the deceptions by which "false decretals" and other interested frauds have been palmed off on the Christian world. The theory has already been sometimes heard of in the sphere of practical every-day morality. It has been held to excuse, not only the attribution to another of that which is your own, but the appropriation to yourself of that which is another's. But the theory, I believe, has not met with much acceptance, in the sphere either of law or of ethics.

A general view of the present position of Old Testament criticism, with regard especially to the historical books, leads us to the conclusion that, whatever the Rationalists have succeeded in unsettling, they have offered us very little which our own reason can allow us to accept in the place of that which they have unsettled. The answer to the question, "How, and by whom, were the books of the Old Testament composed?" is still, in substance, the traditional one, or *there is no answer at all*. Nothing that destructive criticism has yet established supplies the answer. It may not be necessary that, in all cases, there should be any answer. We may accept, speaking generally, the traditional view, which in many points is not questioned even by Dr. Driver, and be content to remain in ignorance as to date and authorship in other cases, where the weight of tradition is overborne by the results of a candid examination of the struc-

* "With regard to the first prayer after communion, . . . I do not think that we find the topics to which it alludes mentioned in this part of ancient liturgies."—W. Palmer's "Origines Liturgicae."

ture and contents of the books themselves. The theory which now holds the most prominent place—that the books were the works of "redactors" in very late times, "re-casting"—i.e., falsifying—the documents or traditions which came into their hands, "reading into" the past the ideas or usages of the present, and thus producing a record not of what actually happened, but of what they thought might have happened or ought to have happened—this view has certainly no more of probability or plausibility than the view which it seeks to supersede; namely, that the documents themselves are of very great antiquity, often contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the events which they describe; but that, in the course of transmission through many centuries, they have in parts acquired a fringe or accretion of extraneous and sometimes untrustworthy matter. By the nature of the case neither view can, in any real sense of the word, be *proved*.* Each removes some difficulties, but leaves others unsolved. But the older view does not, and the newer does, require us to sacrifice to its exigencies reason, common-sense, analogy, and the principles which are accepted in every other department of human knowledge. It is putting the case very strongly against the rationalists to say with Dr. Stanley Leathes: "We should hardly be wrong in saying that it would be more easy to believe that the books of the Old Testament came down straight from heaven, than that the condition and circumstances of their production were such as we are asked to believe they were." It is, no doubt, conceivable that these books originated in the way supposed: and, if and when modern critics shall have brought forward evidence for this supposition differing both in kind and degree from any that has yet been offered, it is possible that their view may become the accepted one; with the inevitable result that the Old Testament must be permanently degraded from the position it has hitherto held in the eyes of Christendom. But on the other hand, it is a very serious mis-statement on the part of Dr. Driver to say that "the main conclusions of critics with reference to the authorship of the books of the Old Testament rest upon reasonings, the cogency of which cannot be denied without denying the ordinary principles by which history is judged and evidence estimated." On the contrary, it is just because these

* It is worth observing how often in works written in the spirit of Dr. Driver's we read that a certain critic has shown that a particular book is of late date, &c. The crucial word *proved* seems to be instinctively avoided.

+ *Churchman*, Feb. 1892.

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conclusions flagrantly contradict those principles that they are called in question. The conclusions may or may not be "supposed to conflict with the requirements of the Christian faith;" many of them do so, if at all, only in a very remote and indirect manner. But, whatever the *results*, the *method* is in fault. In other subjects, conclusions are supposed to rest on *facts*, which form the basis of the reasoning. In Biblical criticism alone, as presented to us by the rationalistic school, no pretence even is made of adducing facts, except such as are furnished by the analysis of language and phraseology; for the fact of occasional inconsistencies or improbabilities in the narratives is admitted on both sides;* the only disagreement is as to the way of accounting for them. All *external* facts, all tradition, all testimony, as well as all reason, analogy, and experience, are against the rationalists. Speculations and conjectures are, in this subject alone, first assumed as facts, and then made the foundation of elaborate theories: and the old difficulty still recurs; the world rests on the elephant, and the elephant on the tortoise: but on what does the tortoise rest?

I quote the words of one who cannot be charged with having only a superficial acquaintance with the subject of which he treats—Professor Green of New Jersey, chairman of the Old Testament Revision Company in America—on the disintegration of the Pentateuch: "There is no evidence of the existence of these documents and redactors, and no pretence of any, apart from the critical tests which have determined the analysis. All tradition and all historical testimony as to the origin of the Pentateuch are against them. The burden of proof lies wholly upon the critics. And this proof should be clear and convincing in proportion to the gravity and the revolutionary character of the consequences which it is proposed to base upon it."[†]

But can the sole class of facts which rationalistic critics can produce—those which are derived from analysis of language and phraseology—be really trusted, in the case of books like those of the Old Testament, to yield results which can be relied upon as certain? Let us imagine a parallel case. The Prayer book of the Church of England is known to be a very composite work. In this case we have ample materials for form-

ing conclusions which may be trusted as to the origin and date of its various parts. We have ancient liturgies, and mediæval service books; we have the first and the second books of Edward VI.; the revisions of 1604 and 1661; changes introduced even in our own lifetime. We have, besides, a mass of contemporary and illustrative documents; Acts of Parliament, proceedings of Convocations and Conferences, private letters or biographies. A few points may still remain obscure; but a careful writer, with less labour than Dr. Driver has bestowed on the Old Testament, may produce from the materials at his disposal an account of our Prayer-book which may be proved to be historically true in almost every detail. But imagine the Prayer-book to stand, as the Old Testament stands, bare and naked of everything outside itself which could account for its origin, and indicate the different sources from which it has been compiled. In such a case is it probable, is it even conceivable, that critics, working on "internal evidence" alone, analysing, dissecting, comparing and contrasting, conjecturing the "stand-point" of the authors of particular portions, or the "atmosphere" by which they are supposed to have been surrounded, would come within measurable distance of what we know to be the actual facts? Is it not morally certain that, as regards dates, they would often be wrong by many centuries, and, as regards authorship, would be able to imagine nothing better than a long series of the "Great Unknown"? What "critical tact" would enable them to discover that, while the Ten Commandments are by far the most ancient portion of Scripture embodied in our Liturgy, they are not to be found as part of any form of the Communion Office earlier than the reign of Edward VI.? Or that, while the Collect for the Second Sunday after Epiphany may be found entire in the Sacramentary of Pope Gregory the Great, who died in the first decade of the seventh century, that for the Sixth Sunday is wholly a composition of our own revisers in the second half of the seventeenth century? And is it not certain that any *tradition* as to the origin of the Prayer-book, not obviously absurd and improbable, would be universally held sufficient to outweigh all the cobwebs which the critics might spin out of their own brains?

It may be well to consider some of the consequences which seem likely to ensue if the views of the extreme rationalists, not entirely adopted by Dr. Driver, on the Old Testament should become generally accepted.

* With the reservation, however, that those inconsistencies and improbabilities have been grossly exaggerated by the rationalists. Some instances of this were given in the former article.

† "Moses and His Recent Critics," quoted in *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1892.

The first and most obvious consequence is that, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, *we shall have no Bible left*. A collection of books so untrustworthy, so riddled through and through with spuriousness and deception, can no longer be revered as "Holy Scripture." They can no longer be regarded as containing a "revelation." "Instead of a religious system revealed by Moses, as a religious system was revealed by Christ, we should have a faith like modern Hinduism, which has grown during a thousand years through Vedism and Brahminism and Buddhism, and various philosophies and poetries."* It has sometimes been said of this kind of criticism that it makes the writings which it dissects more "interesting." No doubt that is so, if the interest intended be of a strictly technical and professional kind. A patient undergoing a critical operation, or a corpse under the hands of a skilful dissector, is to the student of surgery a more interesting object than a man walking erect in full health and vigour. But it is not in this way that any Christian can regard that which he believes to be the "Word of God," through which "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." The operator may have been skilful, but the patient has died under the process; and what remains but to bury him, with the reverent care which Joseph of Arimathaea and the holy women bestowed on the sacred body of their Master, but with no more hope than they then entertained of a resurrection? The rationalists invite us to regard as "interesting" the picturesque ruin which their labours have created, and try to make us see how much more beautiful are its broken outlines and shattered fragments than the stately, if irregular, fabric, which they have levelled to the ground. *Solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.*

A practical consequence of this discrediting of the Old Testament will be that it will be impossible to employ it, even as a lesson-book, for the instruction of the young. To be perpetually discriminating between fact and fiction, legend and history; to recollect whether we are in P, J, JE, H, D1, D2, or which of the innumerable permutations and combinations which rationalistic criticism has imagined; how many centuries after they happened (or did not happen) the events have been recorded—all this is a task which not one teacher in a hundred would attempt, and not one in a thousand successfully accomplish. No

doubt many lessons, of high moral and spiritual value, would still remain; but, detached from the persons with whose names the Bible has associated them, they would be of no more authority than the teachings of Sakya Mouni or Confucius—indeed, of less, for those teachings can be ascribed to those men with tolerable certainty, but to combine the teaching of the Old Testament with the names of those whose history criticism forbids us to believe in, or whose very existence it denies, would baffle the ingenuity or the cruelty of a Mezentius:

"*Mortua quinetiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Tormenti genus.*"

If the view of the extreme rationalists robs us of an important element in Christian education, not less does it paralyse our efforts in the vast and ever-growing field of Christian missions. We cannot send our missionaries to the heathen with the New Testament only in their hands; or, if that were possible, our converts, when able to read the Gospels and Epistles for themselves, would naturally ask for some account of those older Scriptures which they would there find so constantly quoted and referred to. Imagine, then, the position of a missionary obliged to tell those whom he had admitted, or was about to admit, into the fold of Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that while one portion of that Bible which he could not withhold from them was true and genuine history, the older and larger portion was only fabrication and fable, leading up to or preparing for the later and indeed only real revelation simply in the sense (if there is such a sense) in which the stories of King Lear or King Arthur may be said to prepare the minds of children for authentic history. Already the question has been significantly asked by one representing the extreme left wing of rationalism, "Why should we unteach our converts Hindoo mythology, only to teach them Hebrew mythology instead?" Why indeed!

Another point of view from which this question may be regarded, while it does not open up such boundless possibilities of difficulty and confusion as that just adverted to, yet seriously affects the position of the largest body of Christians in England. How will the Church of England stand if its clergy (for the terms of *lay* communion need not here be considered) should become in any large proportion converts to the distinctive views of rationalistic critics with regard to the Old Testament? The latitude already allowed on the subject of Biblical criticism is no doubt very large. Far from

* Principal Cave, in "Review of the Churches," March 1892

having been recently extorted from an unwilling Church by the inexorable demands of nineteenth century scholarship, it was fully stated a hundred years ago by Paley, whose works were long regarded by Anglican Bishops as a standard of authority. His words are worth quoting, as indicating the amount of liberty which in this matter has long been regarded as consistent with Anglican orthodoxy.

"Undoubtedly [says Paley] our Saviour assumes the divine origin of the Mosaic institution; and, independently of His authority, I conceive it to be very difficult to assign any other cause for the commencement or existence of that institution; especially for the singular circumstance of the Jews adhering to the unity of the Godhead, when every other people slid into polytheism.

Undoubtedly also our Saviour recognises the prophetic character of many of their ancient writers. So far, therefore, we are bound as Christians to go. But to make Christianity answerable with its life for the circumstantial truth of each separate passage of the Old Testament, the genuineness of every book, the information, fidelity, and judgment of every writer in it, is to bring, I will not say great, but unnecessary difficulties into the whole system. These books were universally read and received by the Jews in our Saviour's time. He and His Apostles, in common with all other Jews, referred to them, alluded to them, used them. Yet, except where He expressly ascribes a divine authority to particular predictions, I do not know that we can strictly draw any conclusion from the books being so used and applied, beyond the proof, which it unquestionably is, of their notoriety and reception at that time. . . . I mean, that a reference in the New Testament to a passage in the Old does not so fix its authority as to exclude all inquiry into its credibility, or into the separate reasons upon which that credibility is founded; and that it is an unwarrantable as well as an unsafe rule to lay down concerning the Jewish history, what was never laid down concerning any other, that either every particular of it must be true, or the whole false.

"I have thought it necessary [he adds] to state this point explicitly, because a fashion, revived by Voltaire, and pursued by the disciples of his School, seems to have much prevailed of late, of attacking Christianity through the sides of Judaism. Some objections of this class are founded in misconception, some in exaggeration; but all proceed upon a supposition which has not been made out by argument; namely, that the attestation, which the Author and first teachers of Christianity gave to the divine mission of Moses and the prophets, extends to every point and portion of the Jewish history; and so extends as to make Christianity responsible, in its own credibility, for the circumstantial truth (I had almost said for the critical exactness) of every narrative contained in the Old Testament."*

The limits which Paley has here indicated for Old Testament criticism cannot be said to err on the side of restriction or narrowness; and beyond these wide limits it may be conceded that Dr. Driver has not gone

in the "Introduction"; especially as on subjects like this a writer may fairly claim to be judged solely by his actual statements, not by inferences, however natural and obvious, which may be drawn from those statements.

But behind Dr. Driver, and looking, as it were, over his shoulder, are seen others whose "advanced" rationalism makes their position within the borders of the Church of England more than questionable. Dr. Cheyne, a theological Professor at Oxford, and Canon of Rochester Cathedral, has long claimed the right to hold and to teach that almost the whole of the Old Testament narrative is purely fabulous and legendary; no place being left for the historical basis which Dr. Driver allows even for such a story as that of Jonah,* any more than for Paley's "ascription of divine authority to particular predictions." Archdeacon Wilson, of Manchester, taking a long step in the same direction, and regarding the unveracity of the Old Testament as a foregone conclusion, startled the Church Congress at Rhyl (1891) by informing the audience that the Four Gospels consist of "a halo of legend round a nucleus of fact." The outspoken and uncompromising rationalism of such writers, still within the pale of the Church of England, as Dr. Abbott and Canon Fremantle, is too well known to require further reference.

One case may suffice as an illustration. Dr. Cheyne, in a sermon on Elijah, has thus indicated his view of the narratives of the Old Testament: "The story-tellers of Israel—at least those whose works have been preserved in the sacred canon—arranged and ornamented the wild growths of popular tradition in such a way as to promote sound morality and religion. . . . This is why [their works] are so true to nature, that persons who are devoid of a sense for literature often suppose them to be true to fact. True to fact! Who goes to the artist for hard, dry facts?" On the feeding of Elijah by the ravens he remarks: "Few thinking men will admit that it expresses a fact."† His relation to the rationalistic critics of the Continent is thus stated: "In 1870-71 I passed into the school of Graf and Kuenen."‡ To illustrate the position of a disciple of the school of Kuenen, I give, on the authority of Dr. F. E. König, of Leipzig,§ some words of Kuenen him-

* "No doubt the outlines of the narrative are historical, and Jonah's preaching was actually successful at Nineveh," &c., p. 303.

† "The Hallowing of Criticism," p. 30.

‡ Introduction to Bampton Lectures, p. xvi.

§ "The Religious History of Israel." Translated by A. J. Campbell. 1885. Another writer named Daumer is quoted as saying that "The worship of Moloch was the faith of Abraham, Moses, Samuel, and David."

* "Evidences of Christianity," part iii. chap. 3; first published in 1794.

self: "Judaism and Christianity certainly belong to the category of the greatest religious systems, but there is in reality between them and all other systems no specific difference. . . . Judaism and Christianity, according to the belief of their respective followers, must no doubt radically differ from other faiths. But, in asserting that these systems have their origin in divine revelation, we must remember that the followers of Zarathustra, Sakja Muni, and Mohammed hold the same belief as to the beginning of their religious systems."

It can hardly be matter of surprise that to those who advocate such views the challenge should frequently be made to quit a position no longer morally defensible, and to follow the example of Mr. Voysey, Mr. Stopford Brooke, and others, by resigning their preferment or place in a Church whose very existence is bound up with all that they doubt or deny. It is not likely that this challenge will produce any results; first, because the persons so challenged will probably entrench themselves behind the earthworks of Privy Council judgments—a mode of defence, however, which cannot be trusted not to betray those who rely on it too confidently; and secondly, because it is impossible to get behind the mind of another man, and understand the processes by which he can reconcile his conscience to that which to oneself may seem simply dishonest. It may be urged that, even if such a challenge should produce any results, it is a dangerous policy to alienate from the Church of England some of her clergy whose learning or talent, even if it does not recall the saying of a past age, "*Clerus Anglicanus, stupor mundi*," is at least such as to command respectful acknowledgment. Those who urge this objection forget or ignore the fact that a national church ultimately rests not on learning or talent, but on *belief*. A definite dogmatic basis, with the Incarnation for its centre, is of the essence of the Church. Without that, it becomes a "fortuitous combination of atoms," which no decorated Deism, such as is now offered us as a substitute for the Catholic faith, has power to bind together into a living religious system. Better a Church with ten clergy who receive *ex animo* both the *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi* which the Book of Common Prayer imposes or assumes, no less in its own texture and substance than in the Articles which form the appendage or codicil to it, than a Church with ten thousand clergy who regard the Christian religion as only one, though a high one, among the many faiths which

have at different times received the adhesion of mankind, destined itself to pass away and be absorbed in some "religion of the future," from which all dogma shall have vanished, or in which contradictory dogmas shall be regarded as equally credible or incredible. No member either of the Anglo-Catholic or Evangelical sections of the Church of England would hesitate to say that a Church framed on the lines which would satisfy these extremists would be a Church which it would not be worth while holding up one's little finger to save, so completely would it fail to satisfy, lacking all doctrinal kernel and centre, the idea of a living branch of the Church of God. To purchase the adhesion of any set of men, however distinguished and brilliant, by sacrificing the great doctrinal basis of the Church, would be a price which we could not afford to pay. It would be, in a scarcely less degree than a similar sacrifice for the sake of retaining establishment or endowment, *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*.

That the position now taken up by the extreme latitudinarian party among the clergy of the Church of England has reached the furthest point of tension, and must produce sooner or later a distinct "line of cleavage" among our ranks, it seems hardly possible to doubt. Meanwhile, those whose minds have been disturbed by the claims of "scientific criticism," and the conclusions to which, though not in their extreme form, Dr. Driver has given the weight of his name and authority, may be reassured when they know the undoubted fact that the positions which the rationalistic critics have actually *proved and established* are extremely few, and do not materially affect the view which English Christians have hitherto taken of Holy Scripture. When we are told by so competent an authority as Professor Kirkpatrick that "for a long time it was supposed that the 'primary document,' or 'priestly code,' to which belongs the ceremonial legislation, was the oldest document, and Deuteronomy the latest; but the theory which is now most in favour regards the 'prophetic narrative,' with its simple legislation, as the oldest, Deuteronomy as an intermediate stage, and the 'priestly code' as a later codification of the developed ceremonial law;"* we may well ask what confidence we can be expected to feel in a system of interpretation which, scarcely yet fifty years old, has already gone through such serious modifications; or why we should be expected to regard as final,

* "Divine Library of the Old Testament," p. 46.

conclusions which their own advocates admit to be still in a state of change and fluxion. A closer acquaintance with works written on the rationalistic side confirms these doubts. Any English reader who carefully examines such a book as the "Introduction," or still more such a book as Dr. Cheyne's "Bampton Lectures," and "verifies his quotations," letting in at the same time on to the subject a little of the common sense which he would employ on any other subject, will soon discover for himself how slight and unsubstantial are the foundations on which much of the solid-seeming fabric of the "Higher Criticism" really rests; how forced and unreal a view it obliges us to take of many of the books of the Old Testament; how often assertion, repeated and emphasised, is made to do duty for argument; how many *lacunæ* have to be filled up by conjectures in no degree more probable than those which have sometimes been offered on the conservative or traditional side; how often a difficulty is invented, or an explanation of a real difficulty rejected simply because it is an explanation, and its acceptance involves the loss of an item in the rationalistic indictment; how impossible it is satisfactorily to fit together the pieces of the ingenious puzzle which the critics, in their theories of different documents, have invented, and which rivals in its intricate complications the mysteries of "the Rules called the Pie;" on what insufficient grounds they have reduced to incoherent fragments writings which have at least long been held in esteem and veneration, even independently of that "inspiration," that guidance of the Holy Spirit, which some rationalistic critics themselves admit, in a vague and general sense, for the Old Testament as a whole, while they practically deny it in detail to all its particular parts. On those points in which the English reader must trust to the judgment of others, he need not be afraid to set against the authority of the Oxford Professors, Dr. Driver and Dr. Cheyne, the names of Dr. Stanley Leathes, Principal Cave, and Professor Robertson* at home, or Professor Green in America. Finally, with regard to the school of criticism now most prominent among Continental scholars, it is no insular prejudice, but a long experience of their arbitrary and unsound principles, which leads us to apply to them the words in which Dr. Driver has described the characteristics of some Jewish Biblical interpreters: "Jewish scholars are often exceed-

ingly clever and learned; but they are somewhat apt to see things in a false perspective, and to build, upon superficial and accidental appearances, extravagant and far-reaching hypotheses."

THE BISHOP OF COLCHESTER AND THE OLD TESTAMENT: A COR- RESPONDENCE.

From *The Contemporary Review* (London), July, 1892.

I.

*To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY RE-
VIEW.*

DEAR SIR,—I beg leave to remonstrate with the Bishop of Colchester on certain passages in his article, "Dr. Driver's Introduction to the Old Testament, Part II.," which appear to me to exceed the recognised limits of controversy. It is, I think, not permissible to condemn writings which one has not read, or views which one has not had time to study. This offence was, doubtless unintentionally, committed by Dr. Blomfield when he stated that I, who am pledged to a free but devoutly Christian criticism of the Scriptures, and have spent more years on that study than perhaps Dr. Blomfield has spent weeks, "consider almost the whole of the Old Testament narrative to be purely fabulous and legendary." Will Dr. Blomfield, after reading my writings, justify, not merely by words taken out of their context, but by connected passages, this astonishing assertion?

He also places my colleague, Dr. Driver, in an unpleasant position by assuming our solidarity as critics and theologians. It would be both painful and misleading for Dr. Driver to come forward and say that he has as great a repugnance to my conclusions as Bishop Blomfield has, or imagines that he has. It is true that we have the same aims—viz., to pursue truth, and to help to pilot devout students of the Bible through the difficulties which beset their course, partly through the inactivity of Church theologians in the past. But Dr. Driver has expressly said in a work which Dr. Blomfield does appear to have read, that he will only be responsible for the words which he has himself uttered (see his preface), and he has with conscientious reserve left many of the subjects, critical, theological, and ecclesiastical, to which I have myself felt called upon to refer in my

* Of Glasgow: "The Early Religion of Israel."

writings, for the present on one side. It is surely not right to involve him as well as myself in the charge of disloyalty to the Church of England as by law established.

For myself, I reiterate all my main conclusions. As probably the oldest of our more progressive Old Testament critics, I feel bound to speak on delicate matters of criticism, theology, and Church practice whenever a due occasion presents itself, and I claim the privilege of being listened to, and of being treated with that fairness extended even to a criminal. There are a number of hasty utterances about myself in Dr. Blomfield's article which would only need to be illustrated by facts and by logic for their cruel injustice to become visible. Of course, as I "passed in 1870 into the school of Graf and Kuennen," I am responsible for every word Kuennen ever wrote! And as the National Church is based ultimately, "not on the learning or talent of its adherents" [nor, as it seems, on spiritual qualities], but on what Dr. Blomfield calls "belief," I, who hold that our forms of doctrine, interpreted according to their spirit, are intellectual safeguards and helps, ought logically to follow Mr. Voysey and Mr. Stopford Brooke (excellent men, but not historical theologians) out of the Anglican Church! I am very glad that Bishop Blomfield is beginning his study of Old Testament criticism under Dr. Driver, and beg leave to assure him that for such practical difficulties as he has suggested answers have been offered by myself and others, notably by Dr. Briggs in his new work, "The Bible, the Church, and the Reason: the Three Great Fountains of Divine Authority." (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.)

Yours faithfully,

T. K. CHEYNE.

OXFORD, June 13, 1892.

II.

THE VICARAGE, ROCHDALE,
June 14, 1892.

SIR.—In the June number of the *TEMPORARY REVIEW*, p. 876, the Bishop of Colchester writes as follows: "Archdeacon Wilson of Manchester, taking a long step in the same direction" (apparently towards 'claiming to hold and to teach that almost the whole of the Old Testament is purely fabulous and legendary'), "and regarding the unveracity of the Old Testament as a foregone conclusion, startled the Church Congress at Rhyl (1891) by informing the audience that the four Gospels consist

of 'a halo of legend round a nucleus of fact.'"

Those who know my writings will attach little weight to his words; but for the great majority of your readers it is well to nail this statement to the counter as a specimen of false coin.

The nearest equivalent in my paper to his Lordship's first statement of my views is contained in these words: "It is impossible now to accept its *mechanical inspiration*" (*i.e.*, that of the Bible) "and guaranteed historical and scientific correctness." This is a totally different thing. The reckless opinions he attributes to me are not mine.

His second statement is apparently founded on, and is a misquotation from, the sentence I now quote: "But when the truths which the miracles were supposed to attest have been absorbed by the world or the individual, and I mean especially the general truth that Christ truly revealed the will of God for man, and man's relation to God, then *criticism suggests* that the *belief in miracles* has done its work, and we can afford to acknowledge *some* halo of legend round a nucleus of fact."

It must be noticed that in this paragraph there is nothing about "the four Gospels consisting of a halo, &c.," nor am I even professing to state the "results" of criticism, but I am avowedly describing the "tendencies of modern criticism," and in particular "its attitude towards the miraculous."

I will conclude by asking the Bishop to reply thoughtfully to a few questions.

(1) Did he ever read my paper? Was he quoting it from memory? or from hearsay?

(2) Does he accept the view of inspiration which I speak of as impossible to accept?

(3) Is "the attitude of modern criticism towards the miraculous," in his opinion, other than what I have described?

(4) Does he wholly and entirely repudiate that attitude? In particular, how does he regard St. John v. 4 (see R. V.) and Matthew xxvii. 52, 53? Does he regard the first as a halo in the A. V.? Does he to any extent rationalise the second? or condemn those who see in it "some halo?"

If your readers wish to see a paper on the same subject by another Bishop, the Bishop of Worcester, let them refer to the May number of the *Review of the Churches*. That paper is marked by sobriety of statement, accuracy of language, fairness and respect to those from whom the Bishop differs, and a knowledge of the subject about which he writes.

JAMES M. WILSON.

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THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD AS
TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT.

BY THE RIGHT REV. C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D.,
BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), January, 1892.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE reasons which have led me to choose this subject for our consideration will, I think, at once readily suggest themselves to all to whom these words are addressed. Independently of the sort of general feeling that the time has come when the discussion of such a subject cannot profitably be delayed, there are probably few of us who would not agree in the more particular conviction that recent circumstances have now made this discussion positively imperative, and of the most vital and urgent necessity. The Scriptures of the Old Testament have been often assailed : their historical trustworthiness has been denied ; their statements in regard of the early history of the world have been impugned ; the morality they teach has, in many cases, been denounced not only as imperfect, but even as in direct opposition to the teaching of the gospel ; their claim to be divinely inspired, in any sense that would imply a qualitative difference between them and the higher productions of human thought, has been eagerly disavowed and rejected. With all this we have been long since familiar ; but that with which we have not been familiar, that which calls out our present anxiety, and makes discussion imperative, is the strange fact, that views which appear to many inconsistent with what may be termed the historical trustworthiness of large portions of the Old Testament, are now advocated and commended to us by earnest Christian writers, of whom it is impossible to speak otherwise than with respect, and who, in argument, must be treated by us with all brotherly kindness and consideration.

This strange fact, it is right to say, can to some extent be accounted for. The criticism to which we allude* would appear to be the outcome of an effort made by earnest Churchmen at one of our ancient Universities to remove the difficulties felt, it is said, by many young men of serious habits of thought and of cultivated minds,

in reference to the Old Testament, its composition, its facts, its miraculous element, and its claims to be received as a divinely-inspired revelation of the origin and early history of our race ; and, more particularly, as a truthful revelation of the dealings of Almighty God, in past ages, with one chosen nation, and through them, directly or indirectly, with all the children of men. The unhesitating belief which the Church appears to require, not only in the general teaching and pervading truths of the sacred volume, but in its theophanies, its miracles, and its prophecies, has been found, it is said, to be a stumbling-block of so grave a nature to young men of really religious minds that some restatement of the generally received view of the Old Testament has become absolutely necessary. It is maintained that the general interest in religion is far greater and more real than it was only a few years ago, and that unless we are prepared to see that general interest either die out or become merged in some form of philanthropic agnosticism, we must reconsider the whole question of the inspiration of Holy Scripture and especially of the Old Testament.

Whether this is a correct statement of the prevalent feelings of the more earnest and cultivated of the young men of the present day, or whether it is an unconscious exaggeration of what may be felt by a limited number of speculative minds with which the advocates of the new biblical criticism may have come more closely into contact, I am wholly unable to say. I come myself very closely into contact with young men of earnestness and intelligence ; and, as yet, I have certainly met with no examples of the class in whose interest we are urged to reconsider our current views of the character and composition of the Old Testament. Four times, each year as it passes, I have the opportunity of contact with young minds ; and up to the present time, I do not remember to have met with a single instance in which any serious difficulty appears to have been felt in reference to the Old Testament ; nor have I been led to infer from what has been told me that doubts and difficulties as to that portion of the Book of Life prevail among the general class of the students at our Universities, to anything like the extent which, it is alleged, is now to be recognised.

I am, of course, well aware that those with whom I come in contact belong to a class that we may reasonably hope is but slightly, if at all, affected by difficulties as to the trustworthy nature of the Book that

* See *Lux Mundi* (John Murray).

is afterwards solemnly placed in their hands. I am aware also that the information that I may receive from such a class as to the current opinions of young men at our Universities may be partial and inadequate; still I cannot resist the impression that the class, in the interest of which these novel views of the Old Testament have been set forth, is much smaller—at any rate, at the Universities—than is commonly supposed. Under these circumstances, I must be excused if I retain the fixed opinion that there are far better ways of dealing with the difficulties of these young men than by the unreserved publication of disquieting and precarious concessions.

It may be doubted, however, whether the desire to help the distressed faith of others has been the only motive principle in the publication of the essays which have given rise to the present disquietude. The writers tell us honestly that they were compelled for their own sake no less than that of others to write what they have written. They avow themselves to be under the conviction that the attempt must be made to put the Catholic faith into its right relation to modern intellectual and moral problems; and they distinctly tell us that if the true meaning of this faith is to be made conspicuous it must be disengaged, reinterpreted, and explained. The avowal is singular and significant;—singular, as it would have seemed more natural to attempt to put these intellectual and moral problems into their proper relations to the Catholic faith than conversely; and significant, as showing the direction and bias of the minds of the writers. Their conviction would clearly seem to be that the faith, or, to put the most charitable construction on their words (for their language is not clear), the current faith of the Church, is that which must be operated on, and especially in reference to the authority and inspiration of Scripture. Be the motive principles, however, of this attempt to disengage and reinterpret the faith what they may, this is certain,—that with regard to the authority of Holy Scripture, and particularly of the Old Testament, the attempt has created in sober minds a widespread alarm and disquietude. And certainly not without reason.

Independently of the precise nature and details of the attempt, of which I shall speak afterwards, the quarter from which what has been called the higher criticism of the Old Testament originally emanated, and the plainly avowed principles of its earlier exponents, all combine in calling out

anxiety, even in the minds of those who might not be wholly averse to a theology willing to put forth from its treasures things new and progressive as well as authenticated and old. The pedigree is certainly not satisfactory. This so-called "higher criticism" of the Old Testament took definite shape some two generations ago. It commenced with Genesis and the earlier historical portions of the Pentateuch. In these it claimed to demonstrate the existence of earlier documents in portions which had been supposed to be the work of a single writer; and it called especial attention to many indications, of which but little notice had been taken, that the alleged work of the single writer had received additions at periods considerably later than the supposed date of the original work. If it had stopped here there would have been no serious cause for apprehension. But it went much further. It proceeded to adopt criticisms which steadily tended more and more to disintegrate the inspired record, until, about half a generation ago, three writers of considerable learning and acuteness* brought to something like completeness this work of critical demolition. Ingenious theories were framed to support it, resting slightly upon language, but far more on internal arguments, until at length a view of the composition and probable dates of the books of the Old Testament has been commended to the general reader which, to use the most guarded language, is irreconcileable with a sincere belief in the inspiration, and even the trustworthiness, of several of the writings of the Old Covenant.

There is, however, one characteristic of this modern view of the Old Testament, as set forth by the three writers to whom I have referred, which must always steadily be borne in mind. And it is this,—not merely that this modern view tends to, or prepares the way for, a denial of the supernatural, but that it owed its very origin to the assumption that the existence of the supernatural in these early records is exactly that which wrecks their credibility. This perhaps is not absolutely stated in so many words, but it is impossible to deny that the preconception and assumption which runs through the whole of the particular critical investigations to which I am referring, is a disbelief in the possibility of the miraculous. Attempts have been made from time to time by eminent writers in our own country to show that the basis of the well-known histories of Israel and of the religion of

* Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen.

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Israel is not really so naturalistic as it is assumed to be. But to this there is but one reply,—that almost every chapter of both these histories, and especially of the one last mentioned, will show either directly or by fair inference the futility of all such attempts. The basis of the histories and criticisms of the most eminent foreign exponents of the so called higher criticism is patently and even avowedly naturalistic. "We have outgrown the belief of our ancestors" is the candid language of one of these writers, and certainly one who is not the least eminent among them. We thus do not deem it unfair to say that the whole system of Old Testament criticism, as set forth by some at least of these foreign expositors, is based upon rejection of special revelation, miracles, and prophecy,—in a word, the supernatural in all its relations to the history of the Chosen People.

Now, in calling attention to this startling characteristic of the majority of the best foreign treatises on this higher criticism, I do not for one moment desire to imply that writers of our own country who may have, somewhat too freely, availed themselves of the results at which these writers have arrived, are committed to their views of the supernatural and the miraculous. Each writer must be judged by his own statements, and by the reservations he may make in accepting the conclusions of others. I suggest, then, no inferences as to the opinions of those writers to whom, in the sequel, I shall more particularly refer, but I desire notwithstanding, to make plain, at the very outset, that disbelief in the supernatural has had a great deal to do with the development of modern views of the Old Testament. There is, at any rate, some such link between them as may at least suggest the greatest possible caution in assimilating results which have been arrived at under preconceptions such as I have described. This link there is; and it is my firm conviction that the obvious readiness with which these novel views of the composition of the Old Testament have been accepted by imperfectly educated or unbalanced minds is due to a practical, though it may be unrealised, disbelief in many of the miracles recorded in the sacred volume, and perhaps even in the miraculous element generally.

There is also another principle which, though by no means of so dangerous a character as the rejection of the supernatural, has nevertheless produced almost equal effects in the shaping of theories as to the component parts of several of the books of

the Old Testament, and in affixing to the books the dates that are currently assigned to them. And the principle is this,—to assume the existence of a continuous conflict between the schools of the Prophets and the Priesthood, and also of persistent efforts made, especially in the later periods of the history of the nation, on the part of the Priests and Levites to secure the supremacy. That there may have been, from time to time, strongly developed antagonisms, and that commanding figures like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha may have provoked jealousies, and called forth opposition in what may be termed the ecclesiastical party, is perfectly thinkable, though it must be admitted that traces of such jealousies and oppositions between priests and prophets in their class-relations to each other are but few and shadowy. To assume, however, that most of the historical books were remodelled, over-written, or otherwise tampered with by the priestly party in consequence of these rivalries, is to assume far more than there is any sufficient evidence to demonstrate. Theories of a somewhat similar nature played their part in a past generation with reference to the New Testament. There are some of us old enough to remember how books of the New Testament, about the design of which no reasonable doubt could be entertained, were regarded simply as the outcome of the controversies that arose between Judaising and Gentile Christianity,—emergences from opposing schools of thought, and written manifestations of the vigour of apostolic dissensions. These theories, we may remember, had their day, enjoyed for a time a partial popularity, and caused in many minds anxiety and disquietude. But now where are they? Cast away long since on the waste-heap of baseless speculations, exploded and forgotten. And that such will be the fate of a large portion of those that we are now considering in reference to the Old Testament, is certainly not a very hazardous prophecy.

But these two presuppositions are not the only manifestations of a bias which seriously affects the equities of argument. We may rightly note, in one of the three chief modern exponents of this higher criticism, language of a tenor that seems very far removed from the tone which ought to mark all discussions of what is by a general consent regarded to be a record of God's dealings with man. Reverence it might be too much always to expect; but seriousness of tone, and at least some regard for the feelings of general readers, might be expected from a writer of such recognised scholar-

ship, learning, and cultivation as the author of the *Prolegomena of the History of Israel*. When, for example, such a narrative as that which we find in one of the early chapters of the First Book of Samuel—a narrative in which divine mercy is represented as a consequent on national repentance—is described as “a pious make up,” and set aside as not having “a word of truth in it,” and when similar language is constantly reappearing, and fraud frequently imputed when the narrative does not harmonise with the general theory, we cannot but feel that we are dealing with a writer whose bias is antecedently so strong against the documents that he is analysing, that the impartial character of his criticisms and his conclusions may most fairly be called into question. The eager and scornful advocate takes far too much the place of the judicial critic in a work that claims to be an impartial setting forth of national history.

Prejudices and presuppositions then are distinctly to be recognised in this so-called higher criticism of the Old Testament, and must have their due weight assigned to them in any estimates we may form of this criticism. It is too commonly assumed that all the prejudices and presuppositions are only to be found among those who disallow its conclusions. Prejudices and presuppositions on such momentous subjects as those we are now considering will be found distinctly on both sides. They will continually show themselves on the most impartial pages, and will often vitiate what might otherwise be equitable and even persuasive conclusions. Against all such presuppositions it will be my duty in these addresses constantly to be on my guard, and more particularly so as we pass onward into the more serious phases of the great questions that will come before us in the present discussion.

And yet I must here frankly admit that with every effort and desire to write with the most scrupulous impartiality, it will be very hard to avoid, from time to time, myself manifesting the very bias which I am here deprecating. The very nature of the argument that forms the substance of these addresses almost necessarily carries with it a tendency to prejudgment which it will be almost impossible to resist. How far Christ authenticates the Scriptures that speak of Him—which is the main question proposed to be answered in these addresses—is a question which can never be answered without the constantly recurring danger of over-claim, and so ought never to be applied to particular cases that have not been consid-

ered beforehand with the most scrupulous care. The whole validity of the final conclusions will turn upon the choice of the passages which are supposed to contribute answers to the general question, and upon the equity and impartiality with which they are discussed. In pointing out, then, pre-judgments in the case of those we criticise, we are bound not only to exercise the utmost vigilance in avoiding them ourselves, but also distinctly to recognise the liabilities to bias which the very tenor of the particular form of argument will be certain to introduce. It may, however, be just said in passing that it is fairly open to question whether the liabilities to bias are not quite as dominant in the working out of theories of disintegration as in the use of authority in countervailing them. There is a fascination in a destructive argument, especially when it necessitates ingenious elaboration, possibly quite as potent as any that may be found in the simpler and less personal process of traversing it by an appeal to One whose judgment, when expressed, must be accepted as ultimate and irreversible. There is quite as much tendency to bias in one case as in the other.

But to proceed. Thus far we have confined our thoughts to the chief sources from which the new criticism has emanated, and to the general characteristics which this criticism very distinctly reflects. We have thus far alluded mainly to the three foreign writers whose names are most closely connected with the reconstruction of the literary history of the Old Testament; and we have named the apparent presuppositions on which, consciously or unconsciously, they have executed their work. We now turn to those with whom we are more particularly concerned,—the eminent writers in our own country who have adopted, with more or less reservation, the results which these foreign writers have arrived at, and who are now commanding to the serious attention of English Churchmen some modified, but still very disquieting conclusions. On these conclusions, and on the general course of the argument which must be followed in regard to them, we will now make a few preliminary comments.

It is, however, somewhat difficult from the present state of the case to do this with perfect clearness and impartiality. Our English representatives of the new school of criticism are not, as yet, completely agreed among themselves as to how far they are prepared to accept the results on which foreign critics appear to be unanimous; nor again is it perfectly clear what particular

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conclusions, which the majority have accepted, have caused the widely-spread disquietude which, there can be no doubt, does exist among English Churchmen at the present time. We seem, therefore, obliged, in order to arrive at an equitable judgment on these points, and properly to understand the precise state of the complicate controversy, to feel our way towards some sort of standard, by means of which we may more correctly estimate the true nature of current opinion on the Old Testament. It will be desirable, therefore, to arrive at some agreement as to what may be considered the generally received view of the age and authorship of those books of the Old Testament that have been more particularly the subjects of controversy. We shall then have some kind of standard to which reference can be properly made; for the mere general term "the Traditional view," as frequently used by writers on these subjects, is far too vague and too diversely understood, if left undefined, to be made any use of as an available standard of comparison.

We must begin then by defining as clearly as we can what is meant by this general term, and in what sense it is generally used by writers on the Old Testament. The following would seem to be a rough, but substantially correct statement. By the Traditional view we commonly understand the view that has been generally maintained in the Jewish Church, and also in the Christian Church; and which may be expressed in the following terms, viz. that the books of the sacred volume, in its historical portions, have been written or compiled, from contemporaneous documents, by a succession of inspired writers beginning with Moses and ending with Ezra and Nehemiah.

But here it is obvious that something more precise is needed if we are to have anything like a standard with which other views can be compared; it being frankly admitted that in the general estimate of the nature of the contemporaneous documents and the manner in which they have been dealt with by the succession of inspired compilers, modern investigation and, it is fair to add, modern criticism have introduced some changes and rectifications. As this rectified view is the standard towards which we are feeling our way, our first care will be to set forth the traditional view with those rectifications introduced which our present state of knowledge has enabled us to make. We shall then have a fairly defined standard; and in using, as we shall

have frequently to do, the term Traditional view, we must be understood as always meaning the Traditional view in its rectified form.

In the second place, it will be necessary to set forth clearly, in a similar manner, the results of modern criticism, and to sketch out the general estimate that has now been formed of the leading historical books of the Old Testament by foreign critics, and especially by those foreign writers to whom we have already alluded.

In the third place, it will only be just carefully to specify the extent to which the views of these foreign writers are actually accepted by the English Churchmen with whom we are here more particularly concerned. We shall thus have clearly before us what, according to these writers, we are to be considered at liberty to believe as to the origination of the books of the Old Testament.

It will then, lastly, become our duty to consider, closely and carefully, whether this enlarged liberty of belief can be reconciled with the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, as set forth in the Gospels, so far as it bears upon the trustworthiness and authority of the older portions of the Book of Life.

We have thus before us a twofold work. In the first place, we shall have to institute a careful comparison of the rectified traditional view of the Old Testament with the view of modern criticism, which it will be convenient to term the Analytical view,—the term "analytical" being apparently the truest descriptive epithet of this newer or so-called higher criticism of the Old Testament, and having the advantage of not suggesting any prejudgment as to the worth and validity of the system. In equitable controversy nothing is of greater importance than the choice of terms, in the description of the views of opponents, which correctly characterise, but, in regard of any expression, favourable or the reverse, are, as far as possible, colourless. The terms "traditional" and "analytical" seem fairly to fulfil these conditions, and it is under these terms that we shall institute the comparison.

It must be observed, however, that the comparison of these two views can only, in addresses like the present, be of a broad and general character. To enter into minute details or to analyse the separate reasonings, often highly technical and complicated, on which some of the results of the analytical view of the Old Testament are perhaps over confidently based, lies beyond the scope of our present endeavour. It is a

work, however, that I trust will be undertaken by some competent scholar; for in the study of these subjects nothing has more impressed itself upon me than the unwarrantable nature of many of the assumptions on the analytical side in the discussion of these argumentative details, and the obvious bias with which the discussion has been conducted. That bias, I need scarcely say, is the bias against the supernatural, which frequently seems to permeate and modify the whole tenor of the criticism. It is of the utmost importance that this last-mentioned characteristic should always be clearly borne in view. The obliteration or, at the very least, the minimising of the supernatural is too plainly the principle, avowed or unavowed, that influences or conditions the whole of the more advanced analytical investigation of the Old Testament.

When this comparison between the opposing views has been fairly made, the second part of our work will then commence. With the two competing views clearly before us, we shall proceed to make our appeal to Christ and to His teaching, as to which of the two views is most in harmony with the Lord's general teaching as to the relation of the Old and New Testaments.

But, alas, it will be necessary for us, first, to justify such an appeal; and next, to show that the appeal is made to an infallible Judge, and to One whose judgment, when it can be shown clearly to be intimated or given, must be accepted as final, whatever analytical criticism may presume to say to the contrary. This judgment we shall endeavour to obtain in reference to the Law and the Prophets, or, to speak more precisely, in reference to the earlier portions of Scripture which include the Mosaic law, and the subsequent portions, whether historical or prophetical.

We shall then, lastly, review the whole argument, and endeavour to show that those with whom we are more particularly concerned, English scholars and Churchmen, have gone much too fast and much too far in their concessions to the so called established results of the modern criticism of the Old Testament. This criticism, as we have seen, is of foreign growth. It is distinguished by great acumen, and almost boundless self-confidence. When it tells us, for example,* that "the exegesis of the writers of the New Testament, in reference to the Old Testament, cannot stand before the tribunal of science," we see the lengths

to which men, in many respects earnest and truth seeking, are hurried by their convictions of the correctness of their own hypotheses; how all sense of proportion seems to be lost; and how vitally necessary it is to test these over-confident assertions, and to ascertain for ourselves how far these views of God's Holy Word can be deemed to be compatible, either with the results of fair reasoning, or with the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ.

How writers of the high tone and Christian earnestness which obviously characterise some of the English exponents of the analytical view of the Old Testament can have been led to advocate some of the conclusions which will be set forth in the investigations that will follow, is by no means easy to understand. If it be to help the weakened faith of younger men in some of the forms of the supernatural that present themselves in the Old Testament,—if it be intended to alleviate the difficulties they may feel in accepting such miraculous incidents as those related in the earlier portion of the Book of Genesis, or in the history of Jonah,—then, however well intentioned such aid may be, no worse form of giving it could really have been devised. And for this serious reason,—that, say what we may, reason as we may choose, we shall never obliterate the conviction that there is such a close and organic connection between the Old Testament and the New Testament, that whatever applies to the one, in regard of acceptance of the miraculous, is also applicable to the other. If the supernatural is to be minimised in the Old Testament, will it be long before the same demand will be made in reference to the New? To safeguard the miraculous in the New Dispensation, when criticism has either explained it away or attenuated it in the Old Dispensation, will in practice be found to be utterly hopeless. It will be in vain to plead that the Incarnation involves a completely different state of things,—that the visible presence of the Creator of the world in the world He came to save, involves necessarily ever alterable relations with that world, and makes possible and thinkable in the case of the Lord what in Elijah and Elisha would be incredible and unimaginable. Vain it will be, and utterly in vain; nay, worse than in vain. For the same spirit that has found irreconcilable difficulties in the supernatural elements of the Old Testament will ultimately challenge the evidence on which the Incarnation rests. And the more so, as all the age-long testimonies of the Old Testament, all the fore-

* Kuenen's *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*.

shadowings, all the promises that were greeted from afar, all the sure words of prophecy, will have been explained away and dissipated ; and there will remain nothing save two narratives which, it will be said, bear so patently the traces of illusion, or, at the least, of an idealism expressing itself under the guise of alleged facts, that the doctrine of the Word become flesh, the doctrine which is the hope, light, and life of the universe, will in the end be surrendered to the last demands of what will have now become not a distressed, but a ruined faith. When that blessed doctrine is surrendered, the total eclipse of faith will have commenced, and the shadows of the great darkness will be fast sweeping over the forlorn and desolate soul.

It is simply amazing that these things are not realised by those who are now advocating, it may be in a modified form, views of the Old Testament which, at any rate, owe their origination to writers who frankly avow that the religion of Israel is regarded by them as simply one of the principal religions of the world,—nothing less and nothing more,—and is to be dealt with according to the principles of ordinary critical history. Inability to accept the supernatural is the distinctive feature of the analytical system ; all its results patently disclose it ; all its investigations consciously or unconsciously presuppose it. How modifications of such a system, or deductions that may be drawn from it, however cautiously and guardedly, can ever be used to help failing faith, especially in such an age as our own, is to me inconceivable. When the freedom of the Creator of the universe to modify the varied evolutions of His own blessed work, to give fresh energies to secondary causes, and to interpose, in accordance with that law eternal, by which He sustains and develops the energies of all things,—when all this is now, as it is, directly or inferentially denied, when the last foolish utterance on the subject is that belief in the supernatural ought to be regarded as a religious offence, is this a time for English Churchmen to make concessions in regard of belief in the miraculous incidents of the Old Testament ? Is this a time to suggest that the narratives before Abraham may be of the nature of myth, and to regard as the dramatised work of an unknown writer a portion of the Old Testament which the Saviour of the world vouchsafed to use in His conflict with the enemy of mankind ? Is this a time for such perilous concessions ?

After what has been said, can it be longer doubtful that it is now our plainest duty to

give up all such hopeless attempts of aiding shaken faith ? Is it not the height of imprudence to make concessions which inevitably will only prove to be instalments of the ultimate surrender of the supernatural ? Ought we not rather to try “to lift up the hands that hang down and the palsied knees” by the quickening power of truth, patiently and sympathetically set forth, by the inherent persuasiveness of time-honoured beliefs, and by bringing more clearly home to young hearts the credibility of that traditional view of the Old Testament, which, when properly set forth, will be found to have lost nothing of its old and persuasive vitality.

To this duty we now address ourselves, and, as has already been intimated, will proceed to place in contrast the rectified traditional view of the Old Testament, and the analytical view,—alike in its more extreme form, and in the modified form in which, unhappily, it has met with the approval and acceptance of learned and honoured writers from whom it is a pain to be forced thus seriously to differ.

CHURCH FOLK-LORE.

BY J. EDWARD VAUX.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), July, 1892.

VI.

PENANCE—CHURCH OFFICIALS.

FOLLOWING the sequence of Services in the Prayer Book, we now come to the Communion Office appointed to be used on Ash Wednesday, which opens with the following words :

“ Brethren, in the Primitive Church there was a godly discipline that at the beginning of Lent such persons as stood convicted of notorious sin were put to open penance, and punished in this world that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord, and that others, admonished by their example, might be the more afraid to offend.”

This, therefore, is the place where the question of Penance in the English Church should rightly be considered.

It will be well to begin by transcribing some valuable notes respecting the legal aspect of Penance kindly supplied to me by Sir Walter G. F. Phillimore, Bart., Q.C., who writes as follows :—

"You will find much about Penance in Phillimore's 'Ecclesiastical Law,' pages 1367-1375. In later times two things were usually the subjects of Penance—defamation of character and incontinence, especially incest.

"As to the latter, Lord Stowell, in *Burgess v. Burgess* (I. Haggart's 'Consistory Reports,' p. 393), in 1804, speaks of the ancient *Solemnis pænitentia* before the Bishop as much softened down, and then says, 'Looking at the age and infirmity of the party, and what might be the consequence of such a punishment, the Court will not think it necessary to inflict the public penance—the man was very old.'

"In *Chick v. Ramsdale* (I. Curteis' 'Ecclesiastical Reports,' p. 35), 1835, penance for an incestuous union was directed, but upon a medical certificate of the woman's ill-health, was remitted.

"In *Woods v. Woods* (II. Curteis, p. 529), 1840, Dr. Lushington, as Judge of the Consistory Court of London, said:—'I think it right to say that although in some cases public penance has been directed, still, after considering the subject as carefully as I can, it has appeared to me advisable not to make that part of my sentence.'

"As late as 1856, my father, sitting as Chancellor of Chichester, had the matter before him in a case of incest, and said:—'I follow the example of Lord Stowell in *Burgess v. Burgess*, in not enjoining public penance to be performed by them' (Phillimore's 'Ecclesiastical Law,' p. 1375).

"As to defamation, I find in the Law Books a case of penance enjoined as late as 1838 (*Kington v. Hack, 7 Adolphus and Ellis' Queen's Bench Reports*, p. 708); but my idea is that there are several later. Penance in these cases has consisted in a more or less public asking for pardon.

"There is certainly no statute abolishing penance, which still remains a legal, though unusual ecclesiastical punishment. It was last dealt with by Convocation in Queen Anne's time, as to monies paid for 'commutation of penance.'

"I find that fees for 'commutation of penance' were taken in some dioceses, and stood in a regular table of fees to 1832. See the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission Report presented to Parliament."

I will now proceed to give some instances of actual penances which have been publicly carried out. In the case of recent ones I suppress, on charitable grounds, the names of parishes and delinquents, so as not to

give pain to the survivors of those who have thus publicly suffered in days gone by.

But first, a few words as to the sentence of excommunication, which is akin to penance. In the register of the parish of Scotter, Lincolnshire, the following entry occurs:—

"Memorandum. That on Septuagesima Sunday, being the 19th of January, 1667, one Francis Drury, an excommunicated person, came into church in time of Divine Service in the morning, and being admonished by mee to begon, he obstinately refused: whereupon the whole congregation departed. And after the same manner in the afternoon, the same day, he came againe, and, refusing againe to go out, the whole congregation again went home, see y^t little or no service was performed. They prevented his further coming in that manner, as hee threatened, by order from the Justice, upon the Statute of Queen Elizabeth, concerning the molestation and disturbance of public preachers. WM. CARRINGTON, Rector. O tempora! O mores!"

In the archives of Exeter Cathedral the following item occurs under the heading, "Transcripts 1672, Southill, near Callington, Cornwall":—

"John Taprill, clerk, asked forgiveness of Rd. Grills, carpenter, within the parish church of Southill, upon a Sunday forenoon after morning prayer, in the month of December last past, for reporting things not proven. Whereupon, the said Taprill, longing to be revenged, did sing some Psalms, as he thought fitting, to lamentable tunes, in sorrow for his disgrace."

Henry Machyr, the diarist, did penance at St. Paul's Cross, and he notifies it in a very amusing manner in his manuscript, so as to obscure the fact that it was of himself that he was writing.

"The xxij day of November, the iiiij yere [of] Queen Elizabeth, dyd pryche at Powle's Crosse Renagir. Y^t was Saint Clement day, dyd syt alle the sermon tymne Monser Henry de Machyn, for ij [words?] the wyche was told hym, that Veron the French[man], the preacher was taken with a wenche, by the rep[orting] by on William Lurance, clarke of Saint Mare Maudlen in Mylke strette, the wyche the same Hare knellyd down befor master Veron and the byshoppe, and yett [they] wold nott for[give] hym for alle ys fryndes that he had worspheulle."

Strangely enough, Strype was deceived, for in relating the circumstance in his "Annals" he says:—"At Paul's Cross a certain French gentleman named de Machin sat at the sermon time (*i.e.*, in the place of penance), for reporting, &c." I am, of course, presuming that the annalist got his information from the MSS. diary.

The following extract from the *Worcester Journal* of December 18, 1766, has a peculiarity of its own.

"A few Sundays ago Mr. M., of a certain parish not a thousand miles from Pershore, was married

to Miss R., of the same parish, an agreeable young lady with a handsome fortune. That same morning Mr. M., for a certain familiar transaction with his housekeeper, did penance in the same parish church in a white robe, immediately after which the ceremony of marriage between him and Miss R. commenced ; she, with her own father, who gave her away, waiting in church while the penance was performing."

There is a business-like air about this transaction which, I should think, was quite unique.

In the Court Book of the Peculiar of Middleham, in Yorkshire, for the year 1799 is the following item :—

" That Thomas Ibbotson should be suspended from his office of parish clerk, without forfeiting his wages, until after the tenth day of February then next ; and that he do not approach the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper on that day, that by the prayers of Lent he might be fitted for it at the Festival of Easter ; and, lastly, that on the first day of the ensuing Lent he should stand during service until the Nicene Creed was read, before the font, under the gallery, and then depart to a private seat, after having read distinctly the following acknowledgment :—

" I, Thomas Ibbotson, do acknowledge that on the day of the Feast of the Circumcision I behaved very irreverently in the house of God, and that I interrupted the Divine Service, and conducted myself in such a manner, both in the church and out of it, as to give just cause for offence to the congregation then present : that I was led to this misconduct by resentment, and not being perfectly sober at the time ; for which I beg pardon of Almighty God, and do promise to order myself with greater sobriety and decency for the time to come."

There are instances known in which irregular penances were performed. The following, I take it, is one of them, and was imposed either by their sect or by the fanatics upon themselves. The extract is from the *Gentleman's Magazine* of 1748 :—

" December 22. A man and woman, Quakers, walked through the streets of Bristol, Gloucester, and Oxford at separate times, clothed in hair sack-cloth, repeating something as they passed along, doing penance for, &c."

It is generally supposed that doing public penance is quite a thing of the distant past, and perhaps even the case given above of penance being undergone in 1799 will surprise some readers. I have, however, instances of penances being performed up to the middle of the present century. In the *Church Times* of February 13, 1880, a lady correspondent wrote from Manchester as follows :—

" Sometime about the year 1845 a gentleman holding a municipal office in a midland city said of a lady in the same city that he had seen her drunk in the streets. For this 'slander' her husband prosecuted him in the civil courts, and her

father in the Consistory Court of the diocese. In the former he was fined £300, and in the latter the then Chancellor (Raikes) sentenced him to do penance in a white sheet at the door of his parish church on the following Ash Wednesday. What renders the case more forcible is that the 'slander' in question was a fact known to be true."

A clerical friend informs me that Sister _____, of St. Barnabas, Leeds, told him that, as a child, she saw in Kirk Christ, Callan, Isle of Man, four or five persons standing in sheets in the church to do penance during Lent.

In 1849 an inhabitant of a village in Cheshire was sentenced by the Ecclesiastical Court to do penance, having been found guilty of the charge of defamation of character brought against him by the wife of the then rector.

Although of earlier date, the following extract from the parish books of All Saints, Huntingdon, has an interest of its own :— " 1621. Johannes Tomlinson, Rector. Oliverus Cromwell, filius Roberti, reprehensus coram totam ecclesiam pro factis." Five years later the following appears :— " Jo. Tomlinson, Rector, 1626. Hoc anno Oliverus Cromwell fecit penitentiam coram totam ecclesiam."

THE CLERGY.

The term "priest" as applied to the clergy is, or till quite lately was, almost universal in its use in the north of England. The word really expresses the sacred character attached by the people to the order. It is quite generally admitted that a priest may go anywhere, and at any time of the day or night, and he will never be molested if it be known what he is.

During strikes, as they used to be conducted thirty years ago, with violence and great personal abuse, the clergy, though they almost always opposed the men owing to the extreme lawlessness of their proceedings, could address large numbers of pitmen as to their duties without eliciting more than a quiet remonstrance that the clergy did not know what they (the men) had to bear from understrappers.

" One such party," said the late Canon Humble, " once came to my lodgings. I went out and addressed them, and told them that not only would I not give them anything, coming in the menacing way that they did, but that I would advise every one whom I could influence to refuse them also. The men began to justify themselves, and were for arguing the case out. A layman under such circumstances would have been very roughly treated. Coal owners at that

time sent their plate and other valuables to the residences of the clergy. The approach of the clergyman is signalled by the first person who sees him, so that anything not very respectable that is going on may be stopped in time—“Hush! hush! hush! here’s the priest.”

A clerical correspondent states that when he was Curate of Garton-in-the-Wolds, in the East Riding, the clergyman was always spoken of as “the priest.” He was called the Garton priest, and similarly the vicars around were known by the names of their parishes.

In the North Riding I am assured that the custom is the same. My correspondent tells me that he has sometimes even heard “the Wesleyan priest” spoken of.

Few persons, I imagine, are aware of the existence of the title “Lord Rector” as belonging to a clergyman. Before me is a letter from the Rev. R. Noble Jackson, Vicar of Winchcombe, Gloucestershire, and Lord Rector of Sudeley—the place, by the way, where Queen Katharine Parr was buried. This letter contains such out of the way information that I am sure the writer will not object to my giving it in full. It bears date September 4, 1888. Mr. Jackson writes:—

“It is not in my capacity as vicar of this parish (Winchcombe) but as having charge of an adjacent parish of Sudeley that I am Lord Rector thereof. Like my predecessor, I have held the two livings, but the offices are quite distinct—Vicar of Winchcombe and Lord Rector of Sudeley. As to the latter title (I believe there are five Lord Rectors in England) I suppose it is connected with the copyhold lands belonging to the living. I have now open before me, and partially unrolled, the Court Roll of the parish of Sudeley, to which my immediate predecessor added in his lifetime (by measurement just made) more than twelve yards. In it, for instance, unrolling to his immediate predecessor I find this:—

“The Court Baron of the Rev. J. J. Lates, Rector of Sudeley, and Lord of the Manor aforesaid, holden 9th March in the eighth year of our Sovereign Lord George IV., and in the year of our Lord 1827, before John James Lates, Lord of the said Manor, William Staite and Thomas Hale, homage sworn.”

Another clerical title which, I imagine, is not generally known, must be mentioned—this is “Arch-priest.” Some ten years ago I wrote to the only possessor of this title that I knew of, namely, the Rev. Fitz-William John Taylor, Rector of East Ogwell, Newton Abbot, Devon, and “Arch-priest of Haccombe.” He was good enough to send me a cutting from the Exeter Diocesan Kalendar, in which his name appears as follows:—

“Taylor, FitzWilliam John, R. E. and W. Ogwell, and Arch-priest of Haccombe, Newton Abbot. . . . 1842.”

I understand from Mr. Taylor that there are in the Diocesan Registry Office at Exeter (though he has never seen them) documents setting forth the privileges of the Arch-priest of Haccombe, the chief being immunity from any but Archiepiscopal Visitations; the right to sit next the Bishop on all public occasions; and to wear lawn sleeves. My correspondent has never exercised this last-named privilege, but he was formally instituted to the Rectory or Arch-priesthood of Haccombe, and he makes it a rule never to answer at the Visitations of the Bishop or Archdeacon when Haccombe is called. He further tells me that he believes there is another “Arch priest” in England, but he does not know where. Perhaps some reader of this paper can inform me.

Let us now go on to consider the social status of the clergy in times gone by.

There is, says Mr. Overton, an odd illustration in “Cradock’s Reminiscences” of the immeasurable distance which was supposed to separate the bishop from the curate in old days. Bishop Warburton was to preach at St. Lawrence’s Church in behalf of the London Hospital. I was, writes Cradock, introduced into the vestry by a friend, where the Lord Mayor and others were waiting for the arrival of the Duke of York, who was their president; and, in the meantime, the Bishop did everything in his power to entertain, and alleviate their patience. He was beyond measure condescending and courteous, and even graciously handed some biscuits and wine in a salver to the curate, who was to read prayers.

Dean Swift, in his “Project for the Advancement of Religion,” speaks of curates in the most contemptuous terms. “In London a clergyman, with one or two sorry curates, has sometimes the care of above 20,000 incumbent upon him.”

For the edification of the younger clergy at the present day, who are apt to grumble at the meagreness of their stipends, which now are rarely less than £100 a year, and often a great deal more, I may perhaps be pardoned if I say, in passing, that forty years ago, when I was ordained, at my first curacy I received fifty guineas a year, and at my second fifty pounds. I am by no means implying that my services were worth more.

But a couple of hundred years ago things were worse as regards remuneration for clerical duty. The common fee, then, in

case of a sermon reading coffee. Just Here is a sad pic

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case of casual assistance rendered, was, for a sermon, a shilling and a dinner, and for reading prayers twopence and a cup of coffee.

Just above I quoted from Dean Swift. Here is another extract, in which he draws a sad picture of the households of the more needy clerics in his day :—

" His wife is little better than Goody in her birth, education and dress ; and as to himself, we must let his parentage alone. If he be the son of a farmer it is very sufficient, and his sister may be very decently chambermaid to the squire's wife. He goes about on working days in a grazier's coat, and will not scruple to assist his workmen in harvest time. His daughter shall go to service or be sent apprentice to the sempstress in the next town, and his sons are put to honest trades. This is the usual course of an English vicar from £20 to £60 a year."

There is probably some truth in this, but I cannot help thinking that there is a good deal of exaggeration. I suspect that Mr. Overton is not far wrong when he cites Fielding's characters of Parson Adams and Parson Trulliber as fair specimens of the higher and lower type of the poorer clergy in his day. But all the clergy were not so poor then, any more than they are now.

In the days of which I am writing "teetotalism," as we now understand the term, had not been invented. There are some rather curious items to be picked up relative to the refreshment provided for the clergy on duty in times gone by. An instance was given above ; here are one or two more :

The following appears in the vestry minutes at Havering-atte-Bower, near Romford, Essex :—

" At a vestry held at St. Marie's Chappel, Havering, y^e 9th of Nov. 1717.

" Agreed—y^e a pint of sack be allowed the minister y^e officiates y^e Lord's Day y^e winter season,

" Present—G. Shortland, Chaplain." (and six others.)

In the north of England they seem to have been exceptionally liberal to the clergy. Thus, in the vestry book of the parish of Preston, under date April 19, 1731, it is ordered that two bottles of wine be allowed any strange clergyman that shall at any time preach. Query—Was he expected to drink the contents before leaving, or did he put the bottles in his pocket ?

At some of the City churches in London—St. Dionis Backchurch, for instance—wine and biscuits are liberally provided in the vestry every Sunday for the officiating clergyman, and on the occasion of charity sermons, when the Lord Mayor and other

members of the Corporation attend in State, wine, cake, and biscuits are handed round to all who have the *entrée* at the close of the morning service.

When I was a boy, and attended St. Philip's Church, Birmingham, I know that a bottle of wine and glasses were always placed on the table in the vestry for the clergy and more important officials. Whether this is still kept up I know not.

As will be gathered from what I have said, the good things in the vestry were not confined to the use of the clergy. It has been customary from time immemorial to mark the return of Palm Sunday at Hentland Church, Ross, in a peculiar manner. The minister and congregation receive from the churchwardens a cake or bun, and in former times a cup of beer also. This is consumed within the church and is supposed to imply a desire on the part of those who partake of it to forget all past animosities, and thus to prepare themselves for Easter.

I have in my note book a good many memoranda connected with the scandal of "plurallities" on the part of the bishops and clergy in days gone by, together with other matters relating to them which are full of interest, but I hope to go into these details at some future time. At present my space is limited, and I wish to say something about

LAY CHURCH OFFICIALS.

whose duties, legally regarded, are far more multifarious and important than is generally supposed.

Of the lay church officers, the churchwardens naturally take the first place. The popular idea as to their duties would seem to be that they are in some way responsible for the well-being of the Church fabric, and the preservation of the "Ornaments," with certain other minor matters. Not so ; their responsibility extends much further than this. According to Canon 113, they are to take care for the "suppressing of all sin and wickedness in their several parishes, as much as in them lieth," and to take note of persons who have a general evil character amongst their neighbours, and to present them to those who have ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Thus the true functions of churchwardens and of their assistants, the "Sidesmen," or "Synodsmen," are not a little invidious. In some parishes, however, a semblance of paying regard to their duties seems to have been kept up till comparatively recent times. I believe that at Hope,

near Sheffield, for instance, it was formerly the custom during the morning service for the churchwardens to leave the church, and to go round to the public houses near the churchyard to see that all was quiet. This done, they returned to church in time for the sermon. A friend tells me that this used to be very generally done in the West Riding of Yorkshire in days gone by, and that even so late as 1872 the churchwardens of one parish got into trouble through the police finding them drinking in a public-house during one of these official visits. At Manchester, at the close of the last century, it was the custom for the chief magistrate of the place, with the churchwardens and police officers, to leave the church after the first lesson, and to compel all persons found in the streets to come into church or pay a fine.

The appointment of women as churchwardens is not unknown. I am told that in the year 1890 a lady officiated in that capacity at Pill, in Somersetshire; and the *Guardian* of last year announced that the Vicar of Machynlleth had appointed as his churchwarden the Dowager Marchioness of Londonderry.

If the churchwardens' books in country parishes were well searched, a number of queer old-world usages would be brought to light. I cannot refrain from giving the following item, not for the value of the entries, but for the delightful comment made upon them:—

"In the churchwardens' accounts in the parish of _____, Worcestershire, frequent mention is made of sums paid for 'killing urchins.' " In sending me this note, the Vicar facetiously remarks:—"In my ignorance, I at first supposed it to represent the way of keeping down the population, or of securing order in the Sunday-school in these remote regions; but better-informed people tell me that it only refers to the scarcely less reprehensible slaughter of innocent hedgehogs."

A good many queer usages cluster round the office of the parish clerk. In some places it was the custom for this official to knock at the doors of some of the chief parishioners shortly before morning service began on Sundays, to tell them that it was time to come to church. This, I am assured, was formerly the case in St. Stephen's Parish, Exeter.

In the seventeenth century, the custom of having "Clerk Ales" was still kept up. These, as I have already said, were gatherings at which the feasters contributed the materials, and the proceeds were devoted to increasing the parish clerk's too meagre salary.

Everybody knows that in former days all

notices in Church were given out by the parish clerk who was then a much more important official than he is now. These notices were of the most miscellaneous character. The following is one of the oddest that I have met with:

About the year 1838 the clerk of a parish in Lancashire, in the course of his ordinary duties of notice-giver in Church, had to announce that some carrots had been stolen from the vicar's garden, and that a reward of a pound would be awarded to any one who would give such information as would lead to the detection of the thief. The clerk himself had stolen the carrots, some of which were boiling on his fire at the time that he gave the notice. In the afternoon his wife informed against him, and claimed the reward! That woman was certainly a fine specimen of a managing house wife, to get both the carrots and the money!

It may, however, be as well to say that it is now illegal to proclaim in Church such notices as regards secular matters, though in former times they were common enough.

Who is there who does not wish that he had been one of the congregation when a clerk gave out (as it is said) that a meeting of the parishioners was about to be held to determine what colour the church should be whitewashed?

From the number of communications which appear in one issue of "Notes and Queries," in relation to women acting as parish clerks, I imagine that this has been no very unusual arrangement in times past. We have five correspondents giving instances. One quotes from "Burns' Parish Registers" as follows:—"1802. March 2, Buried Elizabeth King, widow, for forty-six years clerk of the parish, in the ninety-first year of her age." Another states that in 1828 a woman was clerk in the parish of Sudbrooke, near Lincoln, and died in that capacity a few years afterwards. A third remarks that a woman has long officiated as parish clerk at Ickburgh, near Thetford, and in 1853 still continued to act in that capacity. Another refers to Madame D'Arblay's Diary—"There was at Collumpton, Devon, only a poor wretched ragged woman, a female clerk, to show us this church. She pays a man for doing the duty, while she receives the salary in right of her deceased husband." Mr. Herbert L. Allen writes that at "Miserton, near Crewkerne, Somerset, Mary Mounford was clerk for more than thirty years. She gave up the office about the year 1832." Similarly Mrs. Sheldon was clerk at Wheatley, in Oxfordshire, in the earlier part of this

century ; and the sexton's mother held the like office at Avington, Hungerford, for twenty-six years.

Those who are interested in the question of the legality of such appointments should consult Prideaux's "Directions to Church Wardens," *Rex v. Stubbs*, 2 T. R. 359, and *Olive v. Ingram*, 2 Strange 1114.

The office of parish clerk has not infrequently been handed on from father to son during a lengthened period. Thus the family of Osborn at Bellbroughton, and of Rose at Bromsgrove, have supplied hereditary parish clerks through many generations. The Osborns have been tailors since Henry VIII.'s time, and can trace their descent three centuries further back. The office of parish clerk has also been hereditary in the parishes of Hope and of Kings Norton, in Worcestershire.

Sextons also seem to have sometimes inherited their office. The *Derbyshire Advertiser* contained the following obituary notice :—"On January 23, 1854, aged 86, Mr. Peter Bramwell, sexton of the Parish Church of Chapel-en-le-Frith (Derbyshire), the deceased served the office of sexton forty-three years; Peter Bramwell, his father, fifty years; George Bramwell, his grandfather, thirty-eight years; George Bramwell, his great grandfather, forty years; and Peter Bramwell, his great-great grandfather, fifty-two years. Total, two hundred and twenty-three years."

But to return to the ladies. I find that the office of overseer has likewise been held by women. Here are a couple of instances :

I am told by the Vicar of Kemsing, Sevenoaks, that Mrs. Elizabeth Turner, a widow and tenant farmer, served the office of overseer for the years 1821-1822, and 1822-1823. She undertook the office to save the parish the expense of a paid collector. She was a person of great energy and cleverness, and very ably managed the extensive farm of which her husband had been tenant. Her husband died in 1814, and she herself in 1867, in her ninety-second year.

Here is another instance :

In 1854 Miss Sarah Matilda George was nominated at a vestry meeting to be overseer of the poor at Mission, Nottinghamshire. The late vicar has told me that she was a lady of independent means, and used to drive about in her carriage to collect the rates. She filled the office efficiently.

Mr. Cripps, in his "Law of the Church and Clergy," states that it has been decided

that a woman may be chosen for, and exercise the office of sextoness, and vote in the election of one. The reason given by the Court in arriving at this decision—notwithstanding that it was argued that women could not vote for Members of Parliament, &c.—was that as this was an office which did not concern the public, or *the care or inspection of the morals of the parishioners*, there was no reason why women who paid the rates should not vote. This was not altogether as complimentary to the gentler sex as it might be ; but, after our recent experiences, it is very touching to learn that Members of Parliament are to be looked upon as guardians of public morals !

Several years ago I asked various intelligent and generally well-informed friends whether they had ever heard of "The Dog-Whipper" as a recognised church officer, and in every case the reply was in the negative. This I did to satisfy myself as to how far old Church customs were likely to be familiar to the class of persons for whom these papers are designed. The result of this simple inquiry seemed to justify their preparation and publication, as they were likely to contain a record of "things not generally known."

The "Dog-Whipper" in our churches was formerly, I take it, pretty nearly as regularly appointed an officer as the sexton, and in a number of parishes the title is still retained. In the parish in which I am now writing, the official whose duty it is to keep order among the boys—troublesome young dogs—is known by the elder people as the "Dog-Whipper." Five and forty years ago an announcement appeared in the *Exeter Gazette* that Mr. Jonathan Pritchard, in the employ of the Rev. Chancellor Martin, had been appointed "Dog-Whipper" of Exeter Cathedral, in the room of Mr. Charles Reynolds, deceased, and the Vicar of Danby has told me that up to the middle of the present century this officer was regularly on duty in his parish. He always displayed the lash of his whip, which hung out of his pocket. The office no longer exists there. At Durham and Ripon the "Dog-Whipper" was a recognised Cathedral functionary.

Our American cousins also had similar officials, as will be seen from an entry in the vestry book of Shrewsbury Parish, in the Diocese of Maryland, which runs as follows :—

"1725. May 1. Agreed that Thomas Thornton shall keep and whip dogs out of the church every Sunday till next Easter Monday, and also the

cattle from about the church and churchyard, for a hundred pounds of tobacco."

In some parishes what are known as "Dog Tongs" were provided, arranged after the fashion of "Lazy Tongs" (so-called), sometimes used by tradesmen to reach light goods from their shop windows. Thus at the parish church of Llanynys, near Denbigh, a pair of these exist which, when closed, are about two feet six inches long, and would extend to a distance of seven or eight feet. The effect in church when a dog was gripped by the instrument during service must have been interesting. The vicar tells me that no one now living in the parish remembers their being used. If they had been, any one, I should think, would have remembered it.

Those who were at the Church Congress at Rhyl last year and visited the Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition, may remember that a pair of wooden dog-tongs formed an item in the loan collection there. They were the actual pair of which I have spoken above.

According to Mr. J. Charles Cox there is an instrument of the kind preserved in the church of Clynnog-Fawr, in the diocese of Bangor. In these the clipping part appears to have been furnished with short spikes.

The same gentleman describes the old dog-whipper's implement, such as was commonly in use, as a whip with a thong about three feet long, fastened to a short ash stick with a band of twisted leather round the handle. An article of this kind is preserved in Baslow church, an ancient chapel of Bakewell, Derbyshire.

A friend tells me that at York there is a gate called "Whip-ma-whop-ma Gate," situated at the east end of St. Crux Church where on Whitsun Tuesday (he thinks) every passing dog used to be whipped. This was in consequence of a certain dog having once stolen a portion of the Blessed Sacrament at St. Crux. This is a curious illustration of the scriptural principle of the sins of the fathers being visited on the children.

Money was sometimes bequeathed to endow the office of dog-whipper. At Barton Turf, Norfolk, the parish clerk has the rent of three acres of land, called "Dog-Whipper's Land"; and the vicar of Chislet, Kent, has sent me the following extract from the "Benefaction Board" in his church:—"Ten shillings are to be paid yearly to a dog-whipper, charged on an acre of marshland belonging to Sir John W. H. Brydges." In the parish of Peterchurch, in Herefordshire, an acre of land is appropriated to the use of the official who keeps

dogs out of church. There is a similar bequest in the parish of Claverley, Salop; but Richard Dovey, who gave the money in 1659, considered that eight shillings annually was sufficient to remunerate the official, although, as I understand, he had an additional duty to perform, viz., to keep people awake during service time.

People seem charged with being unusually drowsy at Wimborne Minster, for the beadle (writes C. E. K.) during the reading of each lesson, make the circuit of the church, crossing the chancel, going down one aisle and up the other, carrying short black staves which they used to awaken sleepers. At Dunchurch a somewhat different implement was employed for the same purpose. This was a stick shaped like a hay-fork, which was fitted on to the sleeper's neck, and it was, no doubt, when well pushed home, sufficiently effectual. As recently as fifty years ago one of the churchwardens of Acton Church, Cheshire, used to walk round during service-time with a long wand, with which he gave a tap on the head to any one who seemed to need such a reminder.

In one parish of which I have an account, the arrangement for waking sleepers was remarkably complete. The official who walked about the church had a long wand with a nob at one end for the men and boys, and a fox's brush at the other, with which he tickled the nostrils of the ladies whom he happened to find dosing. This delicate treatment of the fair sex, even in their erring moments, is worthy of all commendation, but it is easy to picture to oneself what the effect of even so tender an application was likely to be.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MOVEMENT.

BY FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D., PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 7, 1892.

I FIND myself under some embarrassment in complying with the request of the editor of *THE INDEPENDENT* for an article on this subject lest I should seem, in an account of the early days of the movement, to assume any credit for a society which has had as distinctly a providential beginning as any religious movement in the history of the world. Of course the Society began in one church and with one pastor. Every organization has to start somewhere; but this

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pastor and this church had as little to do with promoting the Christian Endeavor cause as the farmer has to do with the growth of the seed in the mellow soil of spring.

The seed, to be sure, may fall out of his hand. He may even carefully plant it in propitious surroundings. He may water and nurture the growing plant, but, after all, how little he has to do with its life and fruit bearing! The seed may sprout and mature even though thoughtlessly dropped from a careless hand by the roadside, if it has life in it. No amount of care or nurture can cause it to germinate unless God-given vitality is within it. So is it with the beginnings of religious movements like the Christian Endeavor Society. They are always as the grain of mustard seed. They are often dropped from weak and incompetent hands. Little is expected of them at the beginning. They are a rebuke to one's doubts and fears and faithless expectations.

It is also true that the need of this Society was felt not only in the heart of one pastor, but in the hearts of thousands of pastors. The fallow ground was broken up for the reception of just such a seed in a multitude of churches. Hundreds and thousands of Christian workers were waiting for such a plan, and, as soon as it appeared in one church, it found a thousand kindly, pastoral hands ready to transplant the living shoot into their own garden.

The contrast between the beginnings of this Society and the advent of some ecclesiastical movements is very striking. No Council of the churches called this organization into being. No Conference, Assembly, or Presbytery decided that there ought to be a Society of Christian Endeavor. No ecclesiastical pressure or denominational *esprit de corps* has ever declared that it must have the right of way in our churches. In fact, it has made its way against denominational opposition in some quarters and clerical indifference in others.

In the early days there were very few except the pastors who had tried the Society to speak its praises. It was said that it would sap the strength of the Church, that it would set off the young over against the old in rivalry, that it would form a church outside of the Church; and when it was proved that it was right within the heart of the Church, that it was the Church working of its young people, then the pessimist exclaimed that it would create a church within a Church; and when a brother wished to be very emphatic he would drop

into Latin, and in a deep bass voice would exclaim: "I fear that it will become an *Imperium in imperio*."

But this society has outlived many infantile diseases which threatened to carry it off. It has increased in power with every month that has gone by during the last twelve years. The attitude of the denominations for the most part is very different from what it was only a few years ago. The organization is evidently coming to be understood as never before, and the more thoroughly it is understood the more generously it is accepted and heartily loved.

A few days ago I spoke at the seventh anniversary of the first society formed in one of the largest cities of Massachusetts, and was reminded of the fact that when that society was established, seven years ago, there were only two hundred and fifty others in existence in all parts of the world. During each of the last four weeks more new Societies of Christian Endeavor were reported at the office of the United Society in Boston than were formed in the first four years of the movement. On one of these weeks 371 new societies were recorded, with nearly 20,000 members, and on another the figures were only less by a very few than this number. This growth is not confined to America and Canada, but in England and Australia the Society seems to be striking its roots quite as deeply as in this country, even if its growth is not as rapid in the Mother Land. A year ago at this time there were less than a hundred societies in Great Britain. Now there are over three hundred, and a most enthusiastic national convention has just been held, whose thronging crowds could scarcely be crowded into two of the largest churches in Chester.

Some English religious papers speak of it as one of the most wonderful religious conventions that has ever been held in the United Kingdom.

In Australia the growth of the movement is no less marked than in this country. All the Australian colonies have formed Christian Endeavor unions with conventions that rival those in our own States and Territories, while nearly every Evangelical denomination in that great island continent has indorsed the principles and methods of the Society, and, to a considerable extent, adopted its name for the young people of their churches.

The Society has this year been received with more than usual cordiality in our own country, especially during the spring conventions, which have made the year memora-

ble in religious circles. The General Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church adopted the Society entire, without prefixes or suffixes. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, after canvassing the whole field, found that there was absolutely no other society suggested by any of their presbyteries or pastors than the Society of Christian Endeavor, and it was adopted as their young people's organization. The Disciples of Christ, some months ago, substantially took the same ground. The Reformed Church was one of the first denominations to indorse and accept the Society. In the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1892 there was no word raised against the organization which has now found its way into four-fifths, I suppose, of the Presbyterian churches, while the cordiality with which it has been received by the Congregationalists, Friends, and many of the Evangelical Lutherans is well known.

The Baptist Young People's Union is formed on an inclusive basis, which allows equal rights to Christian Endeavor societies and encourages their existence and multiplication in Baptist churches throughout the country.

Thus are the indications multiplying in all parts of the world that the Society of Christian Endeavor is a *movement* for every Church and for every clime, and not simply an organization.

In view of the great Convention at New York, when it is expected that at least 25,000 young people will come together, it may be of interest to give a hitherto unwritten chapter concerning Christian Endeavor conventions of the past.

The first society was formed in Williston Church, Portland, Me., February 2d, 1881. The second Society in Newburyport, Mass., in October of the same year. By the following June (1882) some five or six societies had been formed so far as were known, and true to the instincts which have since guided them a Convention of Christian Endeavor Societies was called to meet in Williston Church. It can easily be imagined that it was a comparatively small and inconspicuous convention. It was not without its prophecy, however, of future greatness, though it was looked upon as a remarkable fact that one delegate cared to come from a Maine town nearly fifty miles away. The account in a local newspaper glowed with hope and prophecy rather than any great results that could be recorded of that first convention, which perhaps half filled an ordinary sized church. The second Convention was held in the old Second Parish Church of Portland, Me., and was

scarcely more important though somewhat more largely attended than the first. The third Convention, in 1884, was held in the Kirk St. church, in Lowell, of which the Rev. C. A. Dickinson, of Berkeley Temple, Boston, who has from the beginning been an earnest friend of the movement was then the pastor. This convention was about the size of an ordinary local conference or presbytery, and the fact that one young man ventured from the far-off regions of the Nutmeg State, attracted by his interest in the Christian Endeavor movement, was commented upon as a remarkable fact.

The Convention of 1885 was held near Old Orchard Beach, under the soothings pine boughs of a summer encampment. By this time Christian Endeavor had crossed the Mississippi, and one delegate from St. Louis appeared upon the scenes. This convention gave still larger promise of greater things in the future; but it was not until the two conventions in Saratoga in 1886 and '87 that the Society became worthy of the name as a national movement. At the latter convention something like 2,000 young people with their pastors were present, and a decided impression was made upon the religious public by the sight of these enthusiastic, whole-souled, unselfish young people gathered together in a great summer resort, not to witness the races or to quaff the water, but for a draught at the spiritual fountain which has always been opened at these great meetings. The Convention of 1888 was held in Chicago, and Battery D was crowded with 5,000 earnest young souls, who carried the blessed contagion of Christian Endeavor everywhere throughout the land. This was really the first of the great mass meetings. This convention was repeated in Philadelphia in 1889 with 7,000 in attendance, and in St. Louis in 1890 with 2,000 added to the swelling hosts, and which found its climax last year at Minneapolis when 14,000 came together for the inspiration and fellowship of the Convention.

In the space assigned me it is possible to do little more than give a list of these meetings and some estimate of the thronging thousands, but poor and inadequate indeed is any such description of such a convention. What an inspiring thought is it to remember that more than a score of thousand of young men and women from every State, Territory and Province in the United States and Canada, from England, India, Africa and China will come together at the Eleventh International Convention, which is now close upon us, for a spiritual and religious purpose! What else could sum-

mon these hosts? What other bugle call could they hear from Nova Scotia to Oregon, from Manitoba to Texas? What dramatic company or opera troupe, what baseball combination or political convention could draw them together? What else would induce them to spend their money, to give up their precious days of vacation, as many of them will? Not the excursion which will bring them to the hall of meeting, not the social good-fellowship of the excursion, not the eloquent speeches or distinguished orators of the convention can account for this throng. Nothing but the attractive power of the religion of Christ can adequately explain it. There is no such magnet in all the world as the Cross. There is nothing that can compete with a spiritual prayer-meeting in "drawing power"; for in the prayer-meeting with its pledge, and in the consecration meeting with its solemn vows, is found the heart of the Christian Endeavor movement. This is not simply a gathering of young people's societies. It is not merely a youthful evangelical alliance. It is a company of young men and women who have taken the same vows, who believe in the same methods, and whose one outward bond is the common name Christian Endeavor.

If the Convention of 1892 accomplishes no other purpose, it will be an object lesson to the religious world and the world of scoffers alike that the simple Gospel of Jesus Christ is not losing its power, that it never had so secure and triumphant a place in the hearts of the young as to-day, and that the future of the Church is safe when such young men and women as will assemble in Madison Square Garden, with quick brains, warm hearts and ready hands are devoting themselves so entirely to the one Master, finding in his service the spiritual fellowship that they desire. In view of such interdenominational conventions, only made possible by some such practical fellowship, shall we not pray that this brotherhood may remain intact and may not suffer from sectarian aggression or exclusiveness?

BOSTON, MASS.

THE EPWORTH LEAGUE.

BY JOSEPH F. BERRY, D.D., EDITOR OF
"THE EPWORTH HERALD."

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 7, 1892.

THE Epworth League is the official young people's society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is a little more than three

years old. From the first, its growth has been remarkable. There are now between eight and nine thousand local organizations, called chapters, with a total membership of nearly 500,000. This includes organizations in the United States and in Norway, Sweden, Italy, India, China, Japan and other countries where the Methodist Episcopal Church has established missions. The movement has spread to other branches of the Methodist family. The League has become the official young people's society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and of the Methodist Church in Canada. Some chapters have been quite recently organized in the Wesleyan churches of England. The ratio of growth is about as large at present as at any time during the past three years, and the time is not distant when Epworth Leagues will be organized as universally in the Methodist churches as are Methodist Sunday-schools. At the recent General Conference the League was adopted as the regular society of the Church. It now becomes the duty of the pastors to organize and maintain, wherever possible, chapters of the League, and presiding elders are expected to inquire regularly as to the condition of the organization. The president of the chapter is an *ex-officio* member of the quarterly and district conferences, after he has been formally approved by the former. Arrangements will be made to gather all important League statistics for publication in the Annual Conference minutes. The action of the General Conference ingrafts the society into the organic structure of the Church, and will surely add strength and efficiency to the organization.

It must not be understood, however, that the Epworth League is the first organized movement in the Methodist Episcopal Church for the religious culture of her young people. Local societies of one kind and another have been conducted in our churches for half a century. At the General Conference of 1876, provision was first made for the organization of a general denominational society called the Lyceum. It aimed chiefly to develop the young people on their intellectual side. Following came the Oxford League. Bishop J. H. Vincent, a man marvelously fertile in expedients, was its father. The general aims of this new organization were similar to those of the Holy Club from which it derived its name. These were: 1, The more careful study of the Word of God; 2, the study of literature; 3, the increase of personal piety; 4, the training of its members in works of mercy and help. About the

same time the Young People's Methodist Alliance was formed, a society which placed emphasis upon the higher Christian life and evangelistic work. Subsequently came the Young People's Christian League, the Methodist Young People's Union, and the Young People's Methodist Alliance. Each of these five general societies was received with marked favor by portions of the Church, and two or three of them grew with notable rapidity. It was soon felt, however, that such a division of effort among the young people of the Church was most unwise, and after considerable animated correspondence a conference of the leaders of the various organizations was arranged. This conference was held at Cleveland, O., on the fourteenth day of May, 1889, and before its adjournment on the night of the fifteenth organic union had been effected. The result of the union was the birth of the Epworth League. It should be noted that the League was formed out of general societies which had existed in the Church for some time, and not, as some persons have thoughtlessly claimed, to imitate or compete with other young people's societies. It should be remembered, also, that each of the societies mentioned was a *denominational* society, and it would not have been possible to reorganize any one of them upon an inter-denominational basis. Another thing should be emphasized, *i.e.*: the working plans of the Epworth League were taken from the Methodist Episcopal societies which went into the union, and none were copied from any society outside of our Church.

It will be impossible to compress into the narrow limits of this article anything like an adequate account of the working plans of the League. A mere outline must suffice. The primary object of the organization, as expressed in its Constitution, is "to promote intelligent and vital piety in the young members and friends of the Church, to aid them in the attainment of heart purity and in constant growth in grace, and to train them in works of mercy and help." The General League is governed by a board of control of twenty-nine members, fifteen of whom are appointed by the bishops, and fourteen are elected by the young people in the General Conference districts. The general officers are a president, who shall be a bishop, four vice presidents, two of whom are laymen, an editor, a secretary, and a treasurer. These officers compose the general cabinet, or executive committee. The central office is located at Chicago. *The Epworth Herald*, published

at Chicago, is the official organ of the league, and though it is only a little more than two years old, it has already reached a paid weekly circulation of 66,000 copies.

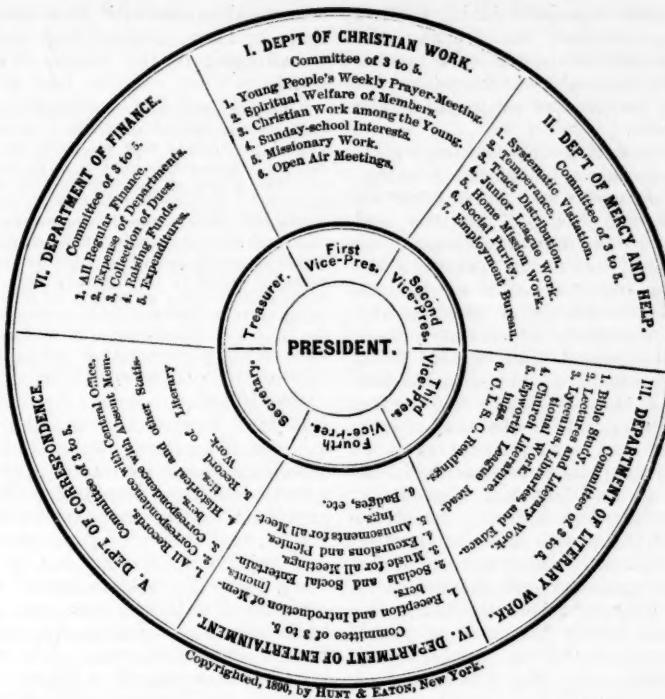
In the local chapter, there are six general departments of work—viz.: Christian work, Mercy and Help, Literary work, Entertainment, Correspondence and Finance. The officers consist of a president, four vice-presidents, a secretary and treasurer. The diagram on the opposite page, familiarly called the "Epworth wheel," gives a good idea of the activities carried forward under the various divisions of work.

There are two classes of members, active and associate. Only active members are eligible to office. Here is the pledge :

"I will earnestly seek for myself, and do what I can to help others attain, the highest New Testament standard of experience and life. I will abstain from all those forms of worldly amusement forbidden by the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and I will attend, so far as possible, the religious meetings of the Chapter and the Church and take some active part in them."

The motto of the League is "Look up; Lift up." This indicates its real spirit and aim. Look up to Christ for salvation and help; lift up humanity. There is a second motto which has become a universal favorite, a ringing sentence which once dropped from the lips of the sainted Bishop Simpson : "We live to make our own Church a power in the land, while we live to love every other Church that exalts our Christ." We also have a badge which is proudly worn by young Methodists in all parts of the world.

The Epworth League is denominational. That we regard as one of its best features. The Methodist Episcopal Church is a connectional Church. The plans which would suit a Church having a Congregational form of government could be made to fit ours. The League is a vital part of our connectional machinery, just as is the class-meeting, the love feast and the quarterly conference. No society constructed upon an independent basis, no matter how perfect, officered by persons outside our communion, and furnishing literature of an undenominational character could be made permanently operative in Methodism. But we believe in the broadest fraternal fellowship, and in the most practical kinds of co-operation. Our conviction is, however, that these most desirable things can best be secured through denominational organization. Our churches are denominational. Our Sunday-schools are denominational. Why make an exception of our young peo-



ple's societies? The spirit of fellowship and co-operation is growing among the churches and schools; why should it not grow blessedly among denominational young people's societies? As the Evangelical Alliance has become the means of drawing the Churches closer together and of promoting true inter-denominational helpfulness, so I believe an Alliance, including the young people's societies of all the denominations, could easily be formed which would unify and direct in a most blessed fashion the activities of young Christians. I believe such a consummation is near at hand. In the meantime the Epworth League prays for blessings on the Christian Endeavor Society and all other organizations of Christian young people.

Many happy results have followed the organization of the Epworth League. The blessings which have come to the churches through its instrumentality cannot be measured. Our bishops, general secretaries, presiding elders and pastors are enthusiastic in their praise. The young people themselves are more than delighted. Denominational loyalty has been promoted, the Good Samaritan side of the Christian life has been emphasized, the perplexing amusement

question has been largely solved, interest in the systematic study of the English Bible and other upbuilding literature has been greatly stimulated, and, best of all, a most potent evangelistic force has been called into action. Hundreds of souls have been converted and brought into the Church through the agency of our consecrated young people. How glorious it is to see the young hosts move on and up!

CHICAGO, ILL.

SAINT ANDREW'S BROTHERHOOD.

BY THE RT. REV. N. S. RULISON, D.D.,
BISHOP OF CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA.

From *The Independent* (Undenom.), New York, July 7, 1892.

NOTHING has been more remarkable in the spiritual renaissance of the Church of England, during the last fifty years, than the awakening of laymen and women to the sense of their responsibility for the use of their personal influence.

No one who has not studied the history of what even Mr. Spurgeon called "the revival of the English Church" knows how great that awakening has been.

Out of it (and especially during the last quarter of a century) have sprung the brotherhoods, sisterhoods, deaconess houses, guilds and lay helpers' associations that are so numerous, famous and successful in the Mother Church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church has inherited her mother's blood and blessing, and if in time past some thought her too slow to recognize changed relations and front new conditions and questions, no one who has followed her recent history thinks so now. For to-day there is no Church that shows more courage or practical wisdom in the presence of dangers that menace our city and national life, or that is in closer or more sensitive touch with the best thought and work of Christian men for the relief of suffering and the abolition of evil. And whatever may be said about her slowness as a student, it must be confessed that at least (if at last) she has thoroughly learned the wisdom of adapting herself to the genius of the people and the spirit of its institutions among whom and which she is placed; the grandeur and inspiration of the sense of personal responsibility for the doing of God's work; the value of youth with its visions, enthusiasm, energy and attractive power; and the foolishness of fearing that a large and free exercise of the Priesthood of the Laity will tend toward irreverence and the development of hysterical religion, fanaticism and vulgarity.

One of the causes and results of this new life is "The Brotherhood of St. Andrew." It seemed a little society at first, and no one thought it would spread beyond the boundaries of the parish in which it was formed.

But as "all holy desires, all good counsels" come from God, so especially was the thought of this Brotherhood that came to Mr. James L. Houghteling, a teacher of a young men's Bible-class in St. James Church, Chicago, born of God, and has been blessed by Him. It was in November, 1883, that Mr. Houghteling organized the Brotherhood for his own parish, and in October, 1886, all the parochial organizations that had been formed on this model organized the General Brotherhood of Saint Andrew.

Its founder learned by his own experience and his observation of other Christians that, as a rule, one grows toward the "perfect man" in Christ just in the proportion that he puts his heart into his work and goes outside of self to do something for others. The young men who acted on this thought soon found that the growth of Christ's kingdom within their characters

was simultaneous with its extension among their brothers, and so they put into the Constitution of the Society the following article :

"The sole object of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew is the spread of Christ's kingdom among young men, and to this end every man desiring to become a member thereof must pledge himself to obey the Rules of the Brotherhood so long as he shall be a member. These Rules are two: The Rule of Prayer and the Rule of Service. The Rule of Prayer is to pray daily for the spread of Christ's kingdom among young men and for God's blessing upon the labors of the Brotherhood. The Rule of Service is to make an earnest effort each week to bring at least one young man within hearing of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as set forth in the services of the Church and in young men's Bible-classes." — Art. 1, Sec. 1, "Constitution."

The Rules are very simple and very spiritual, and because they are they have been objected to by many who would like to turn the Brotherhood into a debating society or a social club; but the Brotherhood was not organized for the purpose of amusing people through the giving of oyster suppers and private theatricals and *opéra bouffe*. Very likely its growth would have been more rapid if it had gone into the "show business"; but it has steadily refused to be turned aside from its original purpose; it has steadily continued to transact the *Lord's* business, and it has steadily grown in numbers and power.

The Brotherhood has to-day more than ten thousand members in this country, and is spreading into the Church of England and her provinces in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and in the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

It works in and for that branch of the Catholic Church which we call the Protestant Episcopal Church, and only by the approval and under the leadership of the clergy. The parochial chapels are independent of each other in local matters, but are bound together in general work and obligations.

Each year a convention is held, to which each chapter is entitled to send representatives. This convention elects a council, which is charged with the "executive direction of the general organization." The Brotherhood has an official organ called the *Saint Andrew's Cross*, which has a paid circulation of nearly one hundred thousand copies, and which is intended to help all the interests of the Brotherhood.

The simplicity of its machinery has had much to do with its success; and its broad-minded view of individual liberty and its clear recognition of the many-sidedness of truth and of men, has kept it free from in-

ternal dissensions and the wretched partisanship of ecclesiastical politics.

For this latter there is not much taste nor time with men who are really at work in Christ's kingdom. And the Brotherhood is a company of workers, in such ways as the following: inviting men to attend church, visiting young men in their homes, acting as lay readers, assisting in general parish work, in Sunday-schools and missions, visiting sick and poor, hospitals and prisons, taking charge of reading rooms, assisting church choirs and parish papers, and in a hundred other ways suggested by circumstances.

The organization has been recognized by the Committee on the State of the Church, appointed by the General Convention, and nearly all the bishops have given it their official recognition and blessing. It is a society existing within a Church that considers herself much more than a society, and is not too indulgent toward self-appointed organizations; and yet its subordination is so perfect, its spirit is so loyal, its methods are so wise, and its purpose is so divine, that we are all coming to love it more and more; and some among us think we see in it a divinely appointed instrumentality for quickening the spiritual life of our Church people, kindling their enthusiasm, creating among them a better *esprit de corps*, and rousing broad-brained and free-willed men to a keen realization of the meaning of their manhood and the obligations of their baptism, that "representeth unto us our profession, which is to follow the example of our Saviour Christ and to be made like unto him."

SOUTH BETHLEHEM, PENN.

THE TROUBLES IN UGANDA.

BY GEORGE S. MACKENZIE.

From *The Fortnightly Review* (London), July, 1892.

"THE Pearl of Africa," as Uganda has been aptly named by Mr. Stanley, who visited the country when it was still a great kingdom, was first brought to notice in Europe by the celebrated travellers Speke and Grant. Mtesa was king when the country was discovered, and during his reign this pagan nation first came in contact with the civilisation and Christianity of the West.

Mr. H. M. Stanley's famous appeal was answered by the arrival in Uganda of the first missionaries (Protestants) who, on the pressing request of Mtesa, were sent out by

our Church Missionary Society in July, 1877. Nearly two years later, these were followed by French missionaries (Roman Catholics). Two priests arrived in the country in 1879, nor was their stay continuous. It may be noted by the way that, discouraged by the prospects, they subsequently withdrew from the kingdom for two years, and only re-entered Uganda in 1885, prompted thereto by the success which had attended the perseverance of the Protestant missionaries. This intrusion of a rival Church into a field already occupied, while so many unappropriated areas were still available in every direction, was little calculated to produce good results either for Christianity or upon a people awakening out of the profoundest and most cruel darkness, and subjected to this double-barrelled discharge of doctrine. The very manner in which the Roman Catholic element was introduced was in itself the occasion of bitterness, and was far from reassuring those native minds otherwise well disposed to accept the teachings of Christianity. Mackay describes the scene that took place (*Mackay in Uganda*, pp. 120-123) when the French priests, on being introduced at the Court, refused to join in the religious service already established by the Protestant missionaries:—

"Mtesa, in his abrupt style, said to Toli: 'Ask the Frenchmen if they believe in Jesus Christ, why they don't kneel down with us when we worship Him every Sabbath! Don't they worship Him?' M. Lourdel was spokesman. He became all at once very excited, and said: 'We do not join in that religion because it is not true; we do not know that book (the Bible) because it is a book of lies. If we joined in that it would mean that we were not Catholics, but Protestants, who have rejected the truth. For hundreds of years they were with us, but now they believe and teach only lies.'"

Mackay, as he tells us—

"Tried to smooth the matter by saying that we had one belief in many things—one God, one Saviour, one Bible, one Heaven, and one law of life. But my friend would have no terms of peace. 'There was one truth, and he came to teach that, and we were liars.' I listened calmly to all," says poor Mackay, "and never replied to the padre. Only when the King asked me to speak I quietly told him how the truth stood. I said that he should first hear more of the doctrines of the Frenchmen, and I had little fear of a man of his intelligence being able to come to a right decision. Never did I hear the word *mwongo* (liar) so frequently used."

Such was the inauguration of Roman Catholicism in Uganda, an inauguration which sufficiently demonstrated the spirit in which the French priests intruded themselves on the field of labour already occupied by the British missionaries.

Mwanga succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, Mtesa. The Italian traveller and companion of Emin, Major Casati, whose words I quote as the statements of a wholly unprejudiced witness, states (*Ten Years in Equatoria*, vol. ii., p. 274) that Mwanga—

"Inaugurated his reign by persecuting the neophytes of the British missionaries. The peace," he continues, "the benefits of which were enjoyed during the last ten years of Mtesa's government, was abruptly disturbed; Mwanga condemned hundreds of people to be burned alive, and spread terror and desolation over his country. Mr. Mackay, the chief of the British mission, was soon pointed out by the Arabs as an enemy of the King and kingdom, and suffered odious vexations and ill-treatment. He was exiled, but arrested shortly afterwards as a runaway."

These, it may be observed, were the days when the Arab slave-traders in Uganda, who had already acquired considerable influence, and aimed at obtaining supreme power, had declared war against the missionaries and everything calculated to further the influence of Europeans, and so interfere with their monopoly of trade, or expose their connection with the slave business. It was owing to the hostile vigilance and power of those Arabs that communications to or from Emin Pasha had become impossible when Mr. Stanley started on his last expedition.

"The Zanzibar Mohammedans," continues Major Casati, "did not stop their nefarious persecution, and obtained from the insane king the expulsion of all missionaries, either of the Catholic or Protestant Church; and their audacity went so far as to suggest to the King that he should eradicate and extinguish in blood the dawning idea of Christianity existing amongst the various castes of the population."

The following description of the cruelties perpetrated at these times is extracted from a letter from the late Mr. A. M. Mackay, dated Buganda, 26th June, 1886, and published in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* :—

"It is now a full month since the bloody persecution of native Christians began. Those who were at the capital and best known were, of course, first arrested. About a dozen were butchered at once. Several were mutilated (Asiatic manner) afterwards; many were speared or otherwise killed in the endeavour to capture them in various parts of the country while thirty-two were burnt alive in one huge pyre after having been kept prisoners over a week."

"Let some of our friends at home fancy themselves exchanging places with us, and see their friends, with whom they yesterday talked and ate, and prayed, to-day ruthlessly seized and hacked to pieces almost before their eyes, and their members left lying to decay by the roadside so as to produce an abominable stench for days. No such realisation is, I fear, possible in England; at any rate no

such realisation exists, otherwise mighty efforts would be made, further than a passing sigh, to put a stop to such a monstrous state of things, however distant. At this moment I recall vividly the voice and face of a man who came here almost daily.

"The executioners suddenly appeared before his house to arrest him, but were afraid to enter. At the time he was engaged in holding prayers with several lads. These bolted through the thin reed wall of the house and escaped. One alone remained with him. 'Do not be afraid that I will shoot you,' cried the Christian; 'come in and take me.' They bound him and took him, as also the friend with him, before the king. 'Do you read?' 'Yes.' 'Take him and roast him,' was the summary sentence. Roberto was kept a few days in the stocks, and then an arm cut off and roasted before his eyes. Next a leg was severed, and that also burnt. How much further the torture went I do not know; I only know that what was left of the man was committed also to the flames."

The king thereafter took alarm at the new power into whose hands he had allowed himself to be drawn, and "promised the Arabs friendship and protection, but, in the meantime, secretly plotted against them, and was forsaken by all."

In September, 1888, occurred the first of that series of revolutions in Uganda which have since devastated what had been up to this time, perhaps, the most promising and powerful African monarchy. The Arab or Mohammedan party, distrustful of Mwanga, formed an alliance with the Christians against him. The former, as well as the latter, had been making converts from Paganism, and the neophytes of both were known by the name of "Readers." They discovered a plot of Mwanga's to rid himself of the "Readers" of both faiths, and, turning their arms upon him, expelled him from the country, and placed his brother Kiwewa on the throne. The principal offices of the State were then divided between the Christians and Mohammedans. This state of things, however, lasted only a month. The Mohammedans proceeded at once to deprive the Christians of their offices, and drove them and their missionaries out of the country. Later on, Kiwewa was deposed for refusing to become a Mohammedan, and a third brother, Kalema, placed on the throne.

"Meanwhile," says Major Casati (vol. ii., p. 275)—

"Mwanga, with a few of his household, repaired to Usukuma, where he begged protection from the missionaries; and the murderer of Hannington, the ferocious persecutor of Christians, the Nero of Uganda, was pompously christened at the Catholic Mission, and, if not praised, was certainly protected and forgiven."

Before seeking the protection of the Roman Catholic priests, the fugitive king

had made abject appeals to the Protestant missionaries to receive him, but, remembering his bloodthirsty persecution of the Christians, and his treacherous character, they refused to have anything to do with him. When, however, by the assistance of the Christians, he recovered his throne in 1889, the Protestants acknowledged him as king, and returned, along with the Roman Catholic missionaries, to resume their work in Uganda.

From this period the French priests have maintained an easy ascendancy over the mind of Mwanga. His suspicious nature readily imbibed the idea that the British were but waiting their opportunity to get him into their power to avenge the dastardly and cruel murder of Bishop Hannington. It was under these circumstances that the British East Africa Company first came in contact with Uganda and inaugurated that action in the lake region for the establishment of British influence which the pressure of events not even remotely anticipated by its founders compelled it to undertake. When Mwanga was endeavouring to make headway against the Arabs for the recovery of his kingdom he heard of the presence, on the north-eastern side of the lake, of a large caravan belonging to the British East Africa Company. This caravan was in charge of Mr. F. J. Jackson, who had been sent into the interior in the previous year for the purpose of exploring the country and of concluding friendly relations with the chiefs and tribes inland, but without any special reference to Uganda.

It may at this point be convenient to narrate the course of events which compelled the Imperial British East Africa Company to depart so far from its original plans as to enter upon the patriotic but costly enterprise of securing to British influence Uganda and the other lake regions commanding the sources of the Nile.

The Imperial British East Africa Company was formed, as the preamble to its charter states, "with the view of promoting trade, commerce, and good government" in that part of East Africa reserved to British influence, and primarily in that portion of the dominions of the Sultanate of Zanzibar which had been granted to it by concession, and beyond which the Company's operations were meant to extend gradually and tentatively into the interior in the ordinary course of development.

During the first two years of its existence, however, the general objects of the Company were thrown into abeyance, and its resources pre-occupied in endeavouring to

counteract the designs of foreign rivals to circumscribe the limits of the British sphere; and, but for the energetic action of the Company, the result would have been not only to confine British influence to the narrow strip of coast comprised between the Umbe and Tana Rivers, but to bar access to the region of the lakes and the sources of the Nile. To this end more particularly was directed the mission of Dr. Carl Peters, organized ostensibly for the relief of Emin Pasha, then known to be on his way down to the coast with Mr. Stanley. Following the course of the Tana and passing through the recognized sphere of British influence, Dr. Peters not only imposed treaties upon the tribes he encountered, distributing amongst them German flags, whilst he pulled down the British ensign wherever it had been previously hoisted by the Company's officers, but openly tore up the papers which certified the protection due to the treaties already concluded between the chiefs and the British. In the end Uganda proved to be the real aim of Dr. Peters' expedition, but a report of his death having been assiduously put into circulation, it was not till the spring of 1890 that he was heard of as having arrived at the Victoria Nyanza.

Coincidently with this movement Emin Pasha, who, on his arrival at the coast, had consented to enter the service of the German Administration, was appointed to lead a strong expedition to the lake district. These evidences of co-operative design did not fail to arouse public feeling in England, and the supposed inaction of the British Company in permitting our national interests to be jeopardized was sharply criticised in the London press.

The German Government had by this time practically assumed the administrative functions of the German Company, and the Imperial British East Africa Company, while anxiously watching the course of events, was disposed to attach less importance to the acts of private adventurers, whose proceedings that Government had formally repudiated. Relying upon the terms of the agreement of July, 1887, which were that—

"England would leave Germany a free hand for the future in the territories south of the Victoria Nyanza Lake, and without interfering with the territories lying to the east of Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa at the back of the German Protectorate, would confine herself to opening up the territories lying to the north of the agreed line,"

the Imperial British East Africa Company assumed that Uganda lay within the British sphere, and was therefore safe against en-

croachments from without. This interpretation of the agreement was found, however, not to conform to the views of the British Foreign Office as to what was necessary in order to "secure paramount influence in Uganda." The Directors were thus forced to take action, and Captain Lugard, then surveying the Sabaki district, was promptly ordered to proceed to Uganda to establish British influence in that country. Meanwhile the caravan under Mr. Jackson, previously mentioned, having reached Kavirondo on 7th November, 1889, met, while at Qua Sundu, a messenger with letters from Mwanga, King of Uganda, and from the missionaries, imploring the Company to come to their assistance. Mr. Jackson then had no intention of entering that country; on the contrary, he had received explicit instructions to avoid Uganda or its dependencies, and to refrain from interference with the internal affairs of the district, owing to representations made by the French Government urgently deprecating the passage of Stanley's Relief Expedition through that country, lest, as it was then said, the approach of a force under Europeans should jeopardise the lives of the missionaries by producing the impression in the King's mind that it was intended by England, if not to conquer the country, to avenge the murder of Bishop Hannington. Mr. Jackson, therefore, in the first instance declined to accede to the King's request, but sent him the Company's flag, the acceptance of which would be the sign of his placing himself and his kingdom under the protection of the Company. Thus matters were allowed to rest until Mr. Jackson's return from a further expedition to the north. Learning then that Dr. Peters, after raising the German flag at Kavirondo, had gone on to Uganda, and having meanwhile received a written intimation from Mwanga accepting the flag, Mr. Jackson considered that the time and the occasion had arrived for entering into personal relations with the king.

On arrival at Uganda he found Mwanga had again fallen under the ascendancy of the French priests, who had assisted Dr. Peters in his anti-English intrigues, and that it was impossible to treat with him as a free agent. Mr. Jackson's first act in Uganda was to make it publicly known that the policy of the Company was one of strict impartiality as regarded all religious sects. He explained again and again "that the Company would treat all parties alike, and make no distinction between Roman Catholics, Protestants, heathens, or Moham-

medans." On the other hand, it was clearly seen then that the object the French priests had in view was political supremacy, to the exclusion of all other influence. It may be recalled how Cardinal Lavigerie, the head of the Uganda French Mission, made an attempt in March, 1890, to persuade the Brussels Anti Slavery Conference to declare the neutrality of Uganda. The negotiations between Great Britain and Germany for the delimitation of their spheres of influence were then in progress, and justified the presumption that Uganda would be assigned to the former. This was, however, the very result which the Cardinal was most anxious to prevent. The Brussels Conference ignored all such proposals as being totally outside its province. It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that the attitude and policy of the French in Uganda were in exact correspondence with the views of their superior. It was thus obvious, Mr. Jackson's report shows, that Père Lourdel and the Roman Catholic chiefs made a dead set against the King signing a treaty in any form with the British Company. It was thus equally plain that the King had been induced to resign his destinies into the hands of the French party.

Père Lourdel died while Mr. Jackson was in Uganda, and was succeeded by Père Lombard, who, of the two, exercised the greater influence over the King, having been Mwanga's teacher at Bukumbi.

The following extract from Mr. Jackson's report is a remarkable forecast of events which have since occurred:—

"Père Lombard is said to have more influence with the King than Père Lourdel had, and should he be opposed to the country falling under the rule of the Company he may incite the Roman Catholics to fight the Protestants at any moment."

While the French priests thus persisted in striving to control the political situation, and regulate the affairs of general administration, the attitude and objects of the Protestant missionaries are indicated by Bishop Tucker, who arrived on the scene at this juncture, and who wrote to H.M.'s Consul-General on September 14, 1890:—"We ask not and desire not a position of dominating influence, but we do ask freedom to worship God as we think best, and to teach as we please; and this I fear we shall not get if Rome rules in Uganda."

In order to ascertain the true position of affairs, and the right of European influence, Mwanga and the Roman Catholics decided that agents should accompany Mr. Jackson to the coast, to be themselves informed by the British, German, and French Consuls-

General at Zanzibar, to which nationality the affairs of Uganda were relegated.

On Mr. Jackson's departure, Mr. Gedge became the representative of the Company in Uganda. Whilst awaiting instructions from the coast, he journeyed to the south end of the lake, where he met Emin Pasha as a German official *en route* for Uganda with Dr. Peters' treaty in his pocket. The Pasha's intentions being frustrated by the receipt of official information from the German Administration at the coast of the conclusion of the Anglo-German Agreement of July 1, 1890, which included Uganda within the British sphere, he informed Mr. Gedge, and loyally acted up to the terms of that treaty. Emin further willingly co-operated with Mr. Gedge in measures to stop the importation of gunpowder and guns into Uganda, a traffic in which the French priests at Bukumbi, with the sanction of their superior, Mgr. Hirth, acted as the agents of Mwanga and the Catholic party. It is worthy of note that as soon as the French priests found themselves prevented by the British and German officials from carrying on trade in guns and gunpowder in Uganda for the arming of their own party, they immediately moved their Government at home to apply for permission to allow arms and ammunition to be sent to them through the British sphere.

Captain Lugard arrived in Uganda in December, 1890, and took over charge of the Company's affairs from Mr. Gedge, who returned to the coast with his health quite broken, owing to the worry and constant opposition placed in the way of his administration by the French priests. A treaty was then signed by the King, placing the country under the protection of the Company, and giving the latter control over the military and fiscal arrangements and foreign relations of the kingdom.

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, Captain Lugard found himself face to face with difficulties of a trying and hazardous nature. The country was divided into two great factions, Roman Catholic and Protestant. The former were the stronger of the two, and had the King at their head. The French priests were still intent on obtaining supreme political power, notwithstanding that they had learned from Emin Pasha that the effect of the Anglo-German Treaty of July 1, 1890, was to place Uganda within the British sphere, and that the return of the Waganda ambassadors from Zanzibar confirmed this statement. Then there was also the Mohammedan party, hovering with an army on the frontiers of the kingdom, and, in alliance with Kabbarega, King of Unyoro, watching for the first favourable opportunity to march in and re-subjugate the country to the yoke of the slave-traders.

“The heathen and the lawless party,” wrote Captain Lugard, “and the King and his party, I knew to be against me. The Catholics were not well disposed, and the Protestants were bitterly disappointed that I had not espoused their side, and had treated them exactly as I did the Catholics.” The mutual hostility of the French and British parties (otherwise termed the Roman Catholics and Protestants) rendered the position of Captain Lugard and his small force one of extreme difficulty and danger. One of the first steps taken by Captain Lugard in the interests of the public safety was directed to prevent the importation of guns and ammunition, which traders were surreptitiously introducing, not only for the use of the Waganda, but for that of the rebel Mohammedan party. In these efforts Captain Lugard was cordially and loyally supported by Emin Pasha and the German officers in charge of the Imperial station at Bukoba, on the western side of the lake.

On the reinforcement of the Uganda establishment by the arrival of Captain Williams, R.A., with two companies of Soudanese, on 31st January, 1891, Captain Lugard at once addressed himself to the adjustment of the larger grievances connected with the possession of estates. The task was one of extreme delicacy, and the decisions given, as might have been expected, exasperated the party to whom they happened to be adverse, and almost precipitated a civil war. The firmness of the Company's officers, however, averted this catastrophe, and the King, Mwanga, expressed his gratitude to Captain Lugard, and, as that officer reported—

“Announced in *burza* (public meeting) that he had never fully believed in our impartiality and professions till now, but now he was completely convinced that we had come for the sole purpose of bringing peace and order to his country. He told them of our conversation the previous night, and how he had thought of it during the night, and saw that my words were true, and had agreed to divide Sese, and how we had now saved the country when nothing else in the world could have done so, and that without the loss of a single life, and he then publicly declared his intention of following my advice in everything.”

On the 8th of April, having left matters comparatively settled in Uganda, Captain Lugard marched out against the Mohammedan party, who were burning villages within sight of the capital. On the 8th of

May he came up and defeated the enemy, being, however, prevented from pursuing them on their retreat into Unyoro by the swollen state of the rivers. After securing the safety of the northern frontier for the time by this victory, Captain Lugard sent Captain Williams back to Mengo (the capital) with part of his force, and himself with the remainder proceeded to the district of the Lake Albert Edward to clear that country of Kabbarega's slave raiding troops. This he succeeded in doing, and is known to have returned to Uganda on the 31st December, 1891. The 8th of January is the date of the latest direct advices received by the British East Africa Company from its officers.

This brings us up to the period of the recent disturbances, of which we have had such sensational accounts from the French missionaries, and none at all, it is worthy of remark, from the British missionaries or the Company's officers. The reports of Captain Lugard laid before Parliament show how persistently the hostility of the French party has obstructed him and Captain Williams in their efforts for the pacification of the distracted country. There is no ground on which it can be imagined that this hostility has been inspired by religious apprehensions. Every assurance has been pledged that the policy of the Company as regarded religious sects would be one of strict impartiality. The Sultan of Zanzibar and the leading Arabs of the coast, who had experience of the Company in such matters, wrote to their Mohammedan co-religionists in Uganda telling them to place the fullest confidence in the Company. The Roman Catholic party alone, directed by the French priests, have refused to acquiesce in the new order of things—not because it has deprived them of religious freedom, not because the decisions of the Company's officers in disputes between the parties have been other than just (each faction in turn accusing them of partiality to the other, according as decisions went)—but solely because the accession of British authority in Uganda was inconsistent with the existence of the ascendancy of the French priests, the object of all their efforts, and for the attainment of which they have not hesitated to plunge the unfortunate country into civil war.

The foregoing remarks are based on the authority of the independent and, therefore, we may assume, unprejudiced and impartial, authors I have quoted, as also on the official reports of officers of the Imperial British East Africa Company, which were made public before the distorted reports of

the recent events were circulated under the authority of the French Vicar-Apostolic and his superiors.

Dr. Warneck, of Eisleben, the German missionary inspector, another independent writer, points out the utter improbability of the Roman Catholic party being the party attacked in the recent conflicts, in view of the fact that the Roman Catholics number fifteen to two of the Protestants. Nor is it surprising that no such charge should have been explicitly brought against their opponents in the statements of the French party.

Another cause of the outbreak of hostilities, which may be gathered from reports in the hands of the Church Missionary Society, was that the King and the French party had sent four Roman Catholic chiefs after a leading Protestant chief, named Melonde, whose plantations lay at some distance from the capital, to kill him and destroy his property. The report, written prior to the event, predicts that "if such an act was perpetrated, nothing could avert war." The Protestant missionaries were evidently using every effort to restrain their followers from violence, but the great and constant provocation received from the French party, who saw they must act now or never if British authority were to be subverted, made this a difficult task. It was plain that the French, conscious of overwhelming numerical preponderance, were desirous of precipitating a conflict to decide the question of supremacy. Captain Lugard's arrival on the 31st December, with reinforcements recruited from the refugees of Emin Pasha's province, appears to have brought on the crisis. It was a last desperate effort on the part of the French party to exterminate the little British garrison, and so dominate its rivals the Protestants. The Catholic aggressors, so greatly superior in numbers, had every reason to look for victory; and the crushing defeat which, by the accounts of the French priests, they appear to have sustained owing to the superior discipline and military skill of the British officers, being doubtless unexpected, was rendered all the more mortifying.

For what happened in Uganda on and after the 8th January we have only the French account, which is in many important particulars so wild and improbable that all impartial critics unable to reconcile the statements will suspend judgment till complete reports from both parties are before them. Disregarding such absurd charges as that against Captain Williams "shooting down women and children" with Maxim

guns, which (the reverend narrator says) "fortunately did not injure them" (!), and the imprisonment and maltreatment of nuns by British officers, the principal accusations are that they distributed rifles amongst the Protestants, and made prisoners of certain French priests.

As regards the issue of rifles, which Bishop Lavinhal described by telegraph as the cause of the "disaster," it is conceivable that, in the face of a general attack by the Roman Catholic forces, Captain Lugard may have tried to augment the strength of his little garrison by serving out to his supporters, and those who placed themselves under his protection, to whatever sect belonging, whether Protestant, Catholic, Mohammedan, or Pagan, any spare rifles he possessed, necessarily a very limited number. What else ought he to have done under the circumstances? From the description furnished by Mgr. Hirth himself there can be no doubt, however, that the attack by the Roman Catholics upon the small garrison in the fort was of the most determined character, and that if it had succeeded there would be few of its occupants left to tell the tale. Had Captain Lugard not done everything in his power to make the most of every available resource against so hostile an onslaught, the "disaster" would certainly have been all the other way. So much for the alleged issue of rifles. As to the reference made by the French to the Brussels Act as prohibiting the issue of rifles to natives, I would only remark that the Act specially provides for the arming of natives by the Government of the country in their own defence; but, apart from this, the Act was not then in force in Uganda, seeing that France had, for her own ends, prevented its ratification up to the time these events took place.

As for the "prisoners" in the fort, &c., M. Ribot, in his representation to our Government, is understood to have referred to six French priests as being detained in the fort by Captain Lugard. But Mgr. Hirth, in his letter of February 10th, fully explains (unconsciously, no doubt) the circumstances under which the priests came to be in the fort. The missionaries were in danger of being burnt to death in a hut in which they had taken refuge, when Captain Lugard came personally to their rescue, and escorted them to the fort, where they were well treated. This is Mgr. Hirth's account of the matter, and the French *Review of Catholic Missions* gives it independent confirmation. "The missionaries," says this official report, "and the remnants of the

Catholics were forced to retire to the English fort." Nothing can be more damaging to the testimony of the French version than this evidently reckless misrepresentation of facts.

I have, I regret, found it necessary, in quoting the words of my authorities, to term the rival factions "Roman Catholics" and "Protestants," but the sequel of events proves that true religious feeling or belief cannot have governed the actions of the rank and file on either side. At best they can only be designated nominal Christians. For practical purposes, and to avoid all sectarian feeling, the one party might as well have been termed "Heathen" and the other "Pagan." I fear the teachers on both sides have, through jealous rivalry, allowed an excess of spiritual zeal to outweigh their judgment and common-sense, and thereby strong party, rather than true Christian, feeling has taken such hold of their ignorant adherents as to have put them entirely beyond control when it came to a death-struggle for temporal power and supremacy. Happily, Captains Lugard and Williams were present in Uganda at the time of the outbreak to hold the balance; and the settlement to be arrived at, we may be sure, will be dictated by a sense of strict justice, irrespective of creed or religion.

It must not be supposed that because I seek to eliminate all sectarian feeling from the subject that I do not fully appreciate the work done by the noble men who have sacrificed, and those who are still devoting their lives to teaching and enlightening the heathen in Africa. They have much cause for thankfulness and encouragement, with many signs of a rich and abundant harvest, which I trust will reward their labours in the near future.

Uganda is, I believe, the only self-constituted so-called Christian State in Africa, and as such is a field as interesting as it is promising for mission work. It may prove to be the morsel of leaven which is to leaven the whole lump. The martyrdom of Christians before referred to is conclusive evidence of conversion to the faith. That genuine converts were made is, indeed, incontrovertible; but these are not the masses who, following implicitly the political chiefs, have taken sides in a conflict of creeds. We have not, however, to go to Uganda to understand the situation in that country; there are parallel cases both in past and contemporary history nearer home of the evils which are apt to be bred in any country wanting a strong, honest, and courageous central government.

While acting as the Company's administrator at Mombassa it was my happy privilege, in giving effect to the Company's declared policy of religious toleration, to settle disputes between the Protestant missionaries and the Mohammedan slave-owners in a manner satisfactory to both.

The printed records of the "Congréation du Saint-Esprit et du Saint Cœur de Marie" acknowledge the gratitude of the Vicar-Apostolic of Zanzibar for the ready assistance and cordial reception he (Mgr. de Courment) and his fellow-priests at all times received at the hands of the Company's officers when travelling in British East Africa. It affords me much pleasure to add my testimony to that of others who have come into personal contact with Mgr. de Courment and his devoted, self-sacrificing, and zealous fellow-workers, by certifying to the excellent work these French missionaries are carrying on at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo in so thorough and unostentatious a manner as to command the admiration and respect of all classes, European and native alike. It is, therefore, with feelings of the deepest regret that we have to deplore the unhappy and unnecessary conflict which has arisen in Uganda. It has been suggested that when the field of operations is so wide certain spheres should be reserved for certain creeds. It has, while in Africa, frequently occurred to me that such an arrangement might also with advantage be worked out even among the different denominations of the same creed, for it must be very puzzling to the ignorant natives to draw distinctions between the teachings of different sects of professing Christians, and must lead them to cast doubt upon the real truths they are invited to accept. But this is a policy which could only be brought about by mutual good feeling and toleration.

Much has been made of the dearth of intelligence from the English party, and it has been asked how it is that the French priests have managed to get their letters to the coast while no news by either route is being received from the former? It should be remembered that the French party and the adherents of the fugitive King hold the country south of Uganda, and command the route leading to the German sphere, and it seems almost certain that hostile bands also hold the left bank of the Nile, and so have been in a position to intercept the messengers despatched to overtake the caravan in Kavirondo, which has recently arrived at Mombassa through the British sphere without the mails. In either case the messengers would be disposed of, and Captain

Lugard and Captain Williams would remain in ignorance of the miscarriage of their dispatches, and would be unconscious of occasion of alarm or anxiety. Again, if hostile bands were raiding the country the mail would need a strong escort. The detachment of a large party for this purpose would be necessary, and Captain Lugard might not feel justified in reducing his small force even by a few rifles. It is, at any rate, gratifying to know that a Company's caravan from Mombassa, due to reach Uganda in May, would provide a substantial reinforcement, and whatever may have been previously the condition of the route round the north end of the lake, it is certain now to have been cleared, and that ere long the mails will be sent down to Mombassa.

Pending the arrival of authentic news, the above details may serve to clear away the misapprehensions raised by partisan suggestions. The question is one of public interest, and in setting out the position in Uganda I seek to make no special appeal on behalf of the British East Africa Company or of the Protestant missionaries. The reader will note that the Company had not the intention originally of occupying Uganda, that it went there on the pressing appeal of the King and missionary bodies and in response to official declarations respecting national requirements. The occupation of these remote regions has in no way contributed to the benefit or advantage of the Company; on the contrary, in the absence of any material help from the Government, it has imposed a heavy and expensive burden, to which the Company's resources are wholly inadequate. Ample notice of this was given, when the resolution to retire was taken in August last; but yielding to the pressure of the friends of the Church Missionary Society the directors subsequently consented, should £40,000 be found towards expenses of occupation (the cost of which is estimated at from £40,000 to £45,000 per annum), not to withdraw Captain Lugard and his force before end of December, 1892. Of the sum required only £26,000 was subscribed, of which £16,000 was provided by the friends of the Church Missionary Society. The limit of time is now fast approaching its end, and it is for others to devise what shall be done on the Company's retirement. Whatever the consequences may be, the responsibility will not rest upon the British East Africa Company.

The Company has thus so far faithfully and completely safeguarded the various interests committed to its keeping: it has already done more than its duty for the

national interests in East Africa, and for the future it must restrict its attention to the remunerative working of its concessions, under which it holds in perpetuity 400 miles of coast line. With the development of its lands, and the growth of a custom revenue, which has already proved its capacity of rapid expansion, it has sufficient work to employ its remaining capital and energies for the benefit of its shareholders, without spending more in maintaining Imperial objects.

In the prosecution of similar enterprises France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal have provided or supplemented the means necessary to undertake the development of the territories reserved respectively as the spheres of their influence. The Imperial British East Africa Company alone has enjoyed no such advantage.

Nevertheless, the Company has proved an important factor in the international delimitation of East African territories, and but for its presence Great Britain could not have secured the Protectorate of the Sultanate of Zanzibar, which otherwise must have passed into the hands of a foreign power. It has also secured for the nation the right of maintaining occupation of the important regions which control the navigation of the upper Nile and the Equatorial Provinces bordering on the Egyptian Sudan.

The cost of the retention of such a vast territory is obviously the duty of the nation ; the strain would be too great for any private company.

The subject involves such far-reaching and varied Imperial interests that it cannot fail to command the earnest consideration of statesmen of all parties. The question may well be asked, What will be the effects of even a temporary withdrawal at the present time of the British Company from the important outpost of Uganda, and how are the evils likely to result therefrom to be averted ?

Captain Lugard, we know, by the enlistment of 1,000 Egyptian soldiers, refugees from Equatoria, has rendered his position at the present time safe and even strong. It is possible, indeed, that Captain Lugard may be able himself to find a solution of the question, and succeed, as Emin Pasha did in the Equatorial Provinces, in raising sufficient revenues to cover the expenses of administration, a privilege still denied to the Company within the coast zone. Mwanga's flight has opened the way to the establishment of an effective administration, and if the report be well founded that Captain

Lugard has placed at its head a Mohammedan chief, rather than risk the recurrence of religious feuds by favouring the pretensions of either of the rival factions, such a course would be conformable with the condition of things in the native states of India, and in the Protectorate of Zanzibar, and would be justified by the tried loyalty under British officers of the Soudanese troops, originally enlisted by Baker and Gordon, men of the same class and race as those forming at this time the main body of Lugard's and Williams's forces. The rumour of Mbogo's nomination, however, needs confirmation. It is not consistent with the more authentic announcement that Captain Williams had come to Muanza at the south end of the lake, and had brought news that fighting was ended in Uganda, and that hopes were entertained of coming to terms with Mwanga and his adherents.

In recent years, prior to the dismemberment of his territory, the Sultan of Zanzibar—in whose councils Sir John Kirk, then British Consul-General, had an all-powerful voice—exercised controlling influence, not only along the coast to which his dominions are now restricted, but over the extensive regions reaching from the Zambesi to beyond the Juba, and away back into what is now recognised as the Congo Free State. Uganda then sent embassies to Zanzibar, and the British Consul's personality was represented wherever the Sultan's subjects went. The position is now simplified by the establishment, in virtue of an international agreement, of a British Protectorate over the Sultanate of Zanzibar, by the concession in perpetuity to a British Company of his Highness's coast territories, which contain three magnificent naval harbours, and by the action of that Company under the provisions of a Royal charter in concluding treaties, and securing sovereign rights with all the native chiefs in the interior. Courts of justice have been constituted, and judges and magistrates appointed, with jurisdiction throughout the British sphere, a general control over the whole territory being assigned to the recently appointed British Commissioner. The way has thus been cleared for the independent assumption of a British protectorate in the interior, to which the transition would be easy, and not costly.

POSTSCRIPT.—Since the foregoing was written a telegram has been received from Mombassa, stating that letters had been received *via* Zanzibar (through the German sphere) from Captains Lugard and Will-

iams. The letter of the former was dated from Kampala Fort (Mengo), 11th February, and that of the latter from Bukoba (the Imperial German station), 7th March. "Captain Lugard's report," the telegram states, "shows that the disturbance commenced with the murder of a Protestant by the Roman Catholics, followed by a direct attack upon the Protestants and himself. Williams refers to the critical position as being over." It need not be pointed out how completely this authentic intelligence confirms the conclusions indicated on page 32.

THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE.

BY JOSEPH D. WEEKS, EDITOR "AMERICAN MANUFACTURER AND IRON WORLD."

From *The Christian Union* (London), New York, July 16, 1892.

To comprehend the question involved in the labor difficulties at Homestead which have resulted so unfortunately, it is necessary to understand the methods by which labor is paid at these works. Piece-work is the rule. Most of the employees are paid by the ton of product, and these tonnage rates or wages are based on the selling price of steel billets, one of the crudest products of this mill for which there is a market price. For each class of labor at a mill or furnace, as the heater in the slabbing mill, the roller in the 119" plate mill, the melter at the open-hearth furnace, a rate of wages is fixed for each hundred tons of product made by the mill or furnace. The earnings will, of course, depend on the number of tons produced. As the price of billets advances, these tonnage wages advance without limit; as the price falls, wages fall down to a certain point called the "minimum." Any decline in selling price below this minimum brings no reduction in wages. This system of payment is known as a "sliding scale," and is a recognition of the now generally accepted theory that wages are paid out of product, and that the wages question is a question of the distribution of product.

The wages scale in force up to June 30 of the present year was agreed to in 1889, at a time when steel billets were selling at \$26.50 a ton. It had as a minimum \$25; that is, any reduction in the selling price of billets below \$25 a ton brought no reduction in wages. This minimum was reached early in January, 1892, and the selling price fell rapidly until in June the quotation was \$22.40, or \$3.60 a ton below the minimum.

In the three years that this scale had been in force, some very important and expensive improvements have been made, that have greatly increased the production, reduced the amount of labor required, and in some instances the skill, and, of course, as wages were paid by the ton, increased the earnings of the workmen.

It was also believed that it would be more advantageous to have the scale expire at the close than at the middle of the year. As most large contracts for the sale of product are made early in the year for the entire year's supply, it would be better to know what the wages would be for the entire year.

As I understand the situation at Homestead, then, three questions are involved:

First, a reduction in the minimum of the scale from \$25 to \$23.

Second, a change in the date of the expiration of the scale from June 30 to December 31.

Third, a reduction in tonnage rates at those furnaces and mills where important improvements have been made and new machinery has been added that have greatly increased their output and consequently the earnings of the workmen. Where no such improvements or additions have been made, no reduction in tonnage rates is asked.

To these should be added a refusal to recognize any longer in the settlement of wages questions the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the labor union which represents the skilled iron and steel workers. The scale for the year will be published, and any workman choosing to accept employment at the wages and on the terms offered will be given employment.

As to the first question: The claim is that if wages are based on selling price, the workmen must be willing to follow that price down, at least to a reasonable minimum, and that, in view of present selling prices, \$23 is a fair minimum. It is conceded that if the reduction in selling price below the minimum is exceptional and temporary, it should not be reduced, but when such reduction is possibly permanent, or, at least, will prevail for some time, the fact should be recognized and the minimum reduced. There certainly is force in the claim of the manufacturers that if the men demand that they be paid on a sliding scale the wages shall follow the selling price down, as well as up; that they must take the bad with the good; that if the rule applies to high selling prices, when the manufacturers can afford to pay high wages, it should also apply in times of low selling prices, when they are less able to pay.

The workmen argue, on the other hand, that there must be a minimum ; that to continue to follow prices down indefinitely would at last reduce their earnings to a point where they could not live and maintain their producing powers ; that this constant reduction in prices is unnecessary ; that it results from unjustifiable competition among manufacturers ; and that, should they accept a reduction in the minimum, it would lead only to further reductions in prices.

As to the second question, the change in the date of the expiration of the scale : Practically all wages scales, in both the iron and steel mills of the West, are settled in June. A National Convention of delegates elected by the various lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers meets in Pittsburg each year early in June, formulates these scales, and presents them for discussion and acceptance either to individual manufacturers or to committees representing bodies of manufacturers. The practice of having all wages settlements at one time in June has much in its favor from the workmen's standpoint, but there are elements of no little weakness in this rule, and possibilities of contests that would not arise if scales as diverse as those of the iron mills and mills similar to Homestead were settled at different times. It is well that manufacturers should know, if possible, what wages they must pay during the entire year, so that they can make contracts for the year accordingly ; but, on the other hand, if a contest must come, it is better for the workmen that it should be in summer than in winter.

But, after all, the important question at issue is the third, the reduction in tonnage rates.

There is a decided misunderstanding in the public mind as to what is covered by this proposed reduction, how many are affected, and what the effect of the proposed reduction will be on earnings.

The proposed reduction in tonnage rates applies only to three departments in the works. Of the 3,800 employees only 281 are affected by these tonnage reductions, and the total number of employees who are affected both by the reduction in tonnage rates and in the scale minimum, including the 281, is less than 325—not ten per cent. of the employees. The wages of every other man in these immense works remain just what they have been for the past three years ; so that of the thousands who have set at defiance all right and law during the past week at Homestead, at the most only

some 325 can claim that they are doing it to maintain their wages.

Further, no reduction was proposed at any mill or furnace at which the output has not been very greatly increased since the 1889 scale was agreed to. At the proposed reduction in tonnage rates the earnings will in almost every case be greater than the earnings at the time the 1889 scale went into effect, and even on the \$23 minimum of the new scale the earnings will in many cases be higher than at the \$26.50 rate in force when the 1889 scale was signed. In some cases the table given below shows reduction in earnings, but this grows out of the fact that the improvements in machinery have been such as to require much less skill and labor than with the old machinery, so that the comparisons in those cases are of names and not of work performed.

For the first five months of the Homestead Steel Works wages scale, which expired June 30, 1892—that is to say, from August to December, inclusive, 1889—the average monthly products of the departments for which a new scale, from July 1, 1892, was presented by the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, to the Amalgamated Association, were as follows :

32-inch slabbing mill.....	7,691 tons.
119 inch plate mill.....	3,458 tons.
Open-hearth furnaces.....	20 tons per turn.

While the tonnages for May, 1892, were :

32-inch slabbing mill.....	9,265 tons.
119-inch plate mill.....	5,268 tons.
Open-hearth furnaces.....	23½ tons per turn.

Showing a tonnage increase in

32-inch slabbing mill of.....	20.6 per cent.
119-inch plate mill of.....	52.3 "
Open-hearth furnaces of.....	17.5 "

A comparison of the wages paid in representative positions at the beginning of the 1889-92 scale with those which would be earned under the proposed 1892-93 scale is shown in table on the following page.

These statements need but little comment ; they cover all the mills and furnaces at which reductions were proposed, and fully justify the statement made above as to increase of output and equality of earnings under the new scale.

The reasons, therefore, that have led to this demand for a reduction in tonnage rates are :

1st. That, as these rates are based on selling price, the old minimum of \$25 is too high, in view of the reduction in prices.

2d. That there has been such an increase in output as to justify a reduction, and still leave the earnings of the workmen practi-

1889-92 Scale.			Proposed 1892-93 Scale.		
\$26.50 Basis.			\$26.50 Basis.		
12 Hours.	Rate 100 Tons.	Daily Earnings.	12 Hours.	Rate 100 Tons.	Daily Earnings.
Heater.....	\$4 31	\$6 37	Heater.....	\$4 31	\$7 68
Screwman.....	4 61	6 81	Screwman.....
Heater, first helper.....	3 07	4 53	Heater, first helper.....	3 07	5 47
Heater, second helper.....	1 73	2 56	Heater, second helper.....	1 47	2 62
Craneman.....	2 23	3 29	Craneman.....	1 33	2 37
Roll Engineer.....	2 50	3 69	Roll Engineer.....	...	3 24
Roll Tableman.....	2 50	3 69	Roll Tableman.....	1 60	2 85
Sweepers.....	1 54	2 27	Sweepers.....	1 20	2 14
Shear Tongsman.....	1 54	2 27	Shear Tongsman.....	1 23	2 23
Stamper.....	1 40	2 07	Stamper.....	1 32	2 37
Shearman.....	2 50	3 69	Shearman.....	...	2 06
Shear Tableman.....	1 73	2 56	Shear Tableman.....	1 47	2 62
Buggyman.....	1 54	2 27	Buggyman.....	1 25	2 23
110° Plate Mill.					
Roller.....	14 00	9 31	12 Hours.	8 Hours.	
Screwman.....	11 50	7 66	Heater.....	14 00	9 45
Tableman.....	10 00	6 65	Screwman.....	11 00	7 43
Hooker.....	8 50	5 66	Tableman.....	8 00	5 40
Sweeper, Front.....	6 00	4 50	Hooker.....	7 00	4 73
Sweeper, Back.....	5 50	3 66	Sweeper, Front.....	5 00	3 38
Shearman, first.....	13 00	8 66	Sweeper, Back.....	5 00	3 38
Shearman, second.....	8 50	5 66	Shearman, first.....	11 00	7 43
Leader, first.....	7 75	5 16	Shearman, second.....	8 00	5 40
Leader, second.....	7 25	4 83	Leader, first.....	6 00	4 65
Heater.....	22 00	14 66	Leader, second.....	5 00	3 38
Heater's Helper.....	15 00	10 00	Heater.....	11 00	7 43
Open-Hearth Furnaces.					
Melter's Helper, first.....	18 00	3 60	12 Hours.	8 Hours.	
Melter's Helper, second.....	15 00	3 00	Heater.....	16 00	3 76
Charging Machine.....	15 00	3 00	Screwman.....	13 00	3 06
Ladleman, first.....	17 00	3 40	Tableman.....	14 00	3 29
Ladleman, second.....	14 00	2 80	Hooker.....	16 00	3 76
Pitman, first.....	17 00	3 40	Sweeper, Front.....	13 00	3 06
Pitman, second.....	14 50	2 90	Sweeper, Back.....	16 00	3 76
Pitman, third.....	13 50	2 70	Shearman, first.....	13 00	3 06
			Shearman, second.....	12 00	2 83
			Leader, first.....	12 00	2 45

cally unchanged, even at the reduced minimum ; and, further, that in the near future these earnings will be greatly increased.

In reply to these claims the workmen assert that the manufacturers get the benefit of the increased profit that comes from increased output ; which would be true if the selling price remained the same, and if the interest on cost of this new machinery and the expenses of operating it and keeping it in repair were all the same as for the old machinery, but they are not. Prices have fallen ; this new machinery represents an addition to capital of a million of dollars, and the cost of operating and of repairs are greatly increased. The workmen's claim would possibly be just if prices kept up, and if the machinery which increased output represented no additional capital nor any additional expense ; but as none of these conditions exists, the manufacturer is certainly entitled to some consideration, some reduction in tonnage rates on an increased output for the additional capital and expense. If the claims made as to increased

output are true—and that they are the above statement abundantly proves—it would appear that the Carnegie Steel Company is justified in asking for a reduction. The reduction in selling price to \$2 below the old minimum adds to this justification. As to what this reduction should be, that is a question of earnings. If there is any justice in the sliding scale principle, wages should not remain the same when the billets on which the scales are based sell at \$23 as when they sell at \$25.

EDITORIAL.

We attempt to give to our readers in this week's issue of The Christian Union a trustworthy account of the terrible tragedy at the Carnegie Steel Works, and one of the causes which led up to it. Mr. Joseph D. Weeks, who, at our urgent request, writes the latter, may be regarded as in some sense a representative of the Carnegie interests. But his course in previous labor troubles has proved him to be also a true friend of the

workingman. We believe that his statement of the facts is absolutely trustworthy.

One might well wish to keep silence in the presence of so awful and perplexing a tragedy. But The Christian Union has no right to keep silence. Our readers are entitled to our best interpretation of an event as strange as it is lamentable.

I. An armed body of men have taken possession of a formerly peaceful village and have established in it martial law. They have done this without any color of authority whatever. Their sentinels pace the streets and avenues, and determine who may be admitted and who may not. They surround with a cordon of arms the private property of a corporation, and determine who may and who may not enter the works. It is not to the purpose to say that they have preserved the property intact, and, when they failed and the property was injured, repaired the injury. It is not to the purpose to say that they have respected life and harmed no one except as they were first assailed. This statement, even if it were true, might reflect credit on the organization, but it does not alter the one indisputable and undisputed fact that a private organization has declared martial law in a village of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The first duty of that Commonwealth is to do what at this writing it is doing—to disperse the armed forces which have taken possession of Homestead, remove the armed sentries from its streets and environs, and re-establish civil order. Whoever was the aggressor in this conflict, whatever the causes which led to it, whatever deep-seated social disease it may indicate—these are not the first questions to be determined. The first question is, Shall the Commonwealth or the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers administer the government in the village of Homestead? Until that question is settled, other questions are not, for that community, in order.

II. But other communities may meanwhile, study this conflict and the causes which led up to it, that they may avoid like conflicts in the future.

A single sentence, dropped as though incidentally, in Mr. Weeks's account is the key to the conflict. Mr. Weeks says:

"To these [other questions involved] should be added a refusal to recognize any longer in the settlement of wages questions the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the labor union which represents the skilled iron and steel workers. The scale for the year will be published, and any workman choosing to accept employment

at the wages and on the terms offered will be given employment."

It is because the public believe that this is an attempt to break up the labor union, and because they believe that this attempt is wholly, utterly, and indefensibly wrong, that the Sheriff received no responses to his call for volunteers. The citizens of Allegheny County are neither robbers nor cowards. But they are not willing to aid, directly or indirectly, in the perpetration of this wrong. And the fact that the labor unions do often act in a despotic spirit and with indefensible methods does not shake the public confidence in the principle of united labor.

For the attempt to destroy the labor union, if successful, can result only in taking away industrial liberty from the laborer. The iron and steel worker is trained to a particular trade, generally to a particular department in that trade. There are a few mills, controlled by a still fewer number of men, and there are many workers. If a worker is thrown out of employment in one mill, he cannot turn to another employment—he has not the training; he cannot find his own employment elsewhere—there is no vacancy; and if there is, he is, not improbably, blacklisted. If the workingman must deal as an individual with capital, which is a vast and skilfully directed organization, he must take what hours, what wages, and what conditions capital chooses to offer. His sole alternative would be starvation.

III. In this attempt to break up the labor union, the Carnegie works have disregarded the public welfare, if not the public's rights. If they have not been the aggressors, they have provoked the aggression. They planted an armed stockade in the midst of a perfectly peaceful community, and brought into the community armed mercenaries from abroad. Who fired the first gun is a matter of dispute—the Pinkerton men say the mob fired it; the newspaper reports say the Pinkerton men fired it. It is doubtful whether even a judicial investigation will determine the question. But history will hold primarily responsible for the tragedy which followed, the challenge and threat involved in bringing a paid and private soldiery upon the scene. The laws of many of the States forbid this employment of private troops. The State of Pennsylvania will be accessory after the fact if she does not by her next Legislature forbid it.

IV. Back of this whole controversy, really giving rise to it and imparting to it its sig-

[August,

nificance, is the modern claim of working-men, rarely clearly expressed, often not clearly understood even by themselves, that the true relations of laborer and capitalist are those of partners in a common enterprise. This doctrine we have never seen more clearly stated than by Mr. Joseph D. Weeks—who has been our teacher on this subject—in an admirable tractate from his pen, “Economic Tract No. XX., Labor Differences and Their Settlement.” The excellence of the statement justifies the length of quotation :

“ The source of this error is chiefly in the idea, inherited from feudal days and justified by much of the legislation and political economy of modern times, that the employer is the superior, the employee an inferior; that it is the right of the former to determine, the duty of the latter to acquiesce. This view does not often express itself bluntly in words, but it does more or less unconsciously in acts. The employer assumes the sole right to determine, and refuses to discuss questions that arise in connection with wages or the details of employment, in the decision of which the employee has an interest equally with the employer, or, if such discussions take place, they are ‘permitted;’ an interview is ‘granted.’ In case of a meeting, the employer assumes the right to dictate its method. ‘No committee will be recognized.’ The employer also claims the right, in many cases, to determine the relation an employee shall hold to his fellows, and prohibits his membership in a union. In all of these, and in many similar cases, there is an assumed superiority of condition which does not exist in reality, however much it may be asserted by word or act. *The true relation of employer and employed is that of independent equals, uniting their efforts to a given end, each with the power, within certain limits, to determine his own rights, but not to prescribe the duties of the other.* The employer has no more right to dictate or even decide how labor shall seek its interests than labor has to dictate to the employer. Whatever may be the views of the latter as to trades-unionism, it will be well, in most cases, especially in great centers of industry or in those employments uniting great bodies of men under one management, if, with the best grace possible, he accept the fact of combination and deal with its representatives. Such combinations, with all their faults and follies, are not entirely bad.”

This claim to partnership, admirably defined in the sentence which we have italicized, is made by the workingmen, and resisted by some, happily not all, capitalists; and it is this which gives rise to the labor war. In this claim the workingmen at Homestead are right; in employing illegal and violent methods to enforce it they are wholly and inexcusably wrong. Revolution is never justifiable until all peaceable methods have been exhausted, and the workingmen have hardly even attempted peaceable methods.

V. The immediate occasion of this controversy is a question of wages. Whether

in the proposed reduction of wages the Carnegie works are right or not only an expert can determine. The Christian Union is not an expert. But civilization has learned from Christ a very simple way of determining such disputes. It is by leaving them to the arbitrament of a disinterested tribunal. It is because labor and capital have not yet learned this lesson that labor conflicts like that at Homestead occur. The leaders in the labor unions often object to arbitration because it would render the union less necessary and the leader less important. The capitalist often objects because it would take from him the despotic power of control which otherwise is lodged in his hands. But wherever both have agreed upon arbitration and submitted to it in a spirit of mutual trust, confidence, and concession, there has been an end to strikes and lockouts.

In brief: the workingmen think that they have a moral right to be treated as “independent equals.” We think so too. They see no legal remedy for the wrong threatened them by the refusal so to treat them. We see none either. They have therefore inaugurated a revolution. In this they are radically wrong. For they have the power to secure a legal remedy; at the very least, they can try; and they have not tried. The first duty of the hour is to disband and dismiss from the scene all armed bands, whether of workingmen or of foreign mercenaries, and restore peace, order, and liberty. But we greatly mistake the mind of the American people if these repeated conflicts do not teach them that something is to be done to establish, by private action if possible, by legislative action if necessary, that “true relation of employer and employed, as that of independent equals,” which Mr. Weeks has so admirably defined in the paragraph quoted above. The orderly lawlessness of the Reading Deal and the disorderly lawlessness of the Homestead strikers afford, from different points of view, illustrations of the same spirit of disregard of public rights and public welfare.

WHAT BECAME OF THE APOSTLES.

BY PROFESSOR ROBERT ELLIS THOMPSON,
S.T.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Undenom.), Philadelphia,
July 16, 1892.

THE Acts of the Apostles close the story of Paul's labors about the year A.D. 61, or thirty-two years after the Ascension. Luke's

narrative dismisses the other apostles with the adjournment of what is called the Council of Jerusalem, some ten years earlier. From the captivity of Paul in Rome to the date of the Apologies of Justin Martyr (A.D. 148), which may be taken as the beginning of a continuous Christian literature, there intervenes nearly a century of comparative obscurity. On the first decades of that century we get some light from (1) the New Testament. From Paul's pastoral epistles we infer his missionary activity after his release from his Roman captivity, and learn that he had the purpose to visit the countries of the West. He speaks of himself (Philemon 9) as "Paul the aged,"—an expression which indicates the lapse of years since that sea-voyage on which he showed the energy of full manhood. James's and Jude's epistles give us a glimpse of their mind, rather than of their life. The same is true of Peter, with an exception I shall note below; and of John's Epistles, while the Revelation tells us of his exile to Patmos, and shows him especially interested in a group of churches, of which Ephesus forms the center.

2. Our second source of information as to the early Church is outside writers: Josephus, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny. But these, with the exception of a passage in Josephus, whose genuineness is questioned, give us no light on the doings of the apostles.

3. A third source is the writings of Christians of the next generations. For our present purpose the fragments of Papias of Hierapolis (died A.D. 163) and Polycrates of Ephesus (thirty years later), which are quoted by Eusebius, are of most importance. Next to these are the notices in Irenaeus of Lyons, at the close of the second century; Tertullian, at the opening of the third; and Augustine, Lactantius, Jerome, and Eusebius, in the fourth century. The last, in his "Church History," has labored to supply all we need in the matter, but had not the critical acumen to distinguish early traditions from later accretions. Entirely untrustworthy is the "History of the Apostles" which passes under the name of Abdias of Babylon, and claims to belong to the apostolic age. It is not much older than the seventh century, and is based on the apocryphal and heretical "Circuits of the Apostles" (that is, of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul), which were published, under the name of Leucius Charinus, in the second century.

4. The fourth and last source of our knowledge is the most liable to suspicion,

but it is that which tells us the most. The natural eagerness of the Church of the second and third centuries to know more fully the story of the first generations in the Church, led to the fabrication of false Acts of the Apostles, devoted to the labors of one or more of the group. More than a score of these spurious works are mentioned or quoted, and most of them still are accessible in whole or in part. Much of this literature was manufactured in the interest of heretical sects, such as the Ebionites, the Gnostics, and the Manichees; and part of it has been recast in their interest, although originally orthodox.

But it does not follow from the lack of authenticity which characterizes these documents that they are entirely destitute of historic truth. They (or many of them) were written at a time when the leading facts of the later careers of the apostles were still within the memory of men. Naturally, the authors of these fabrications would work into their narratives whatever was still commonly known. Especially when we find their statements confirming one another, and agreeing with what little the New Testament has to tell us, and also with the incidental notices of reigning princes, which we obtain from coins and other sources, we may presume that they represent traditions of a trustworthy character.

The apocryphal Acts generally start from the legend that the apostles divided the earth among them before setting out on their labors, as the apostles of the Catholic Apostolic Church did half a century ago. In one shape the story runs that just after our Lord's ascension they cast lots for the countries of the known world, and betook themselves to that which thus fell to them. There is a suggestion of fact in the statement that their fields of labor were assigned by the languages conferred on them on the day of Pentecost. There can be no doubt that Pentecost furnished the starting-point of the missionary labors of the original apostles, by bringing them into personal and spiritual contact with the Jews of the great Asiatic Dispersion,—"the lost sheep of the House of Israel," whom their Master especially and primarily sought. The worldwide mission of the gospel was a truth to which they did not rise speedily, as Paul did by a pure reaction from the narrowness of his Jewish Pharisaism, as well as in accordance with his commission from Christ. James's Epistle is addressed to "the Twelve Tribes, which are of the Dispersion;" Peter's first "to the Elect which are of the Dispersion." It was therefore to the re-

gions designated in Acts 2:9-11, and especially to those first named as being the largest contributors to the assemblage, that the apostles, according to early tradition, betook themselves.

In those traditions we find three great fields of labor designated,—two inside and one outside the Roman empire.

1. The regions of the Roman empire around the Black Sea, from the Bosphorus to the Caucasus, were the scene of the labors of Peter and Andrew, Matthew and Bartholomew. It is true that Peter's first Epistle is written from Babylon, a city of the Parthian empire. But it evidently was written on the occasion of his temporary withdrawal from his field of labor, and is addressed to his flock "in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia." It will be seen that he speaks from personal knowledge of their Christian life, and sends them the greetings from the church in Babylon. It has been suggested that "Babylon" here means Rome. That Peter ever was in Rome, we have no evidence from early tradition. That tradition locates Andrew at Sinope, the capital of Pontus, where his chair of white stone was long preserved.

Through a confusion of the Sindians (who lived near the Caucasus, and were subjects of Polemo II., the reigning king of Pontus) with the Indians, later writers have transferred both Peter and Matthew to India; and Pantænus's testimony to finding Matthew's Gospel among the Sindians has been similarly misread. It shows the Jewish-Christian character of the Church of this region, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew.

2. The second field of apostolic labor was the great Iranian empire, at the time ruled by the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids, as formerly by the Persian dynasty of the Achænæids. Since the conquest of Syria and Armenia by the Romans, the Euphrates formed the boundary line, so that Mesopotamia belonged to the Parthians. "Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia," in the assembly at Pentecost, came from beyond the boundary of the Roman empire, and were part of the great Dispersion of the Jews which still remained in the lands of the Captivity. Among them the apostles Thomas and Simon the Canaanite, and possibly Thaddeus, preached the gospel. Edessa, at this time a Parthian city, was headquarters for Thomas, and possibly Thaddeus, while Babylon is said to have been the point from which Simon the Canaanite preached, with all a zealot's energy, to the more southern

part of the extensive empire. A later tradition transfers Thomas to India, and this is why the Nestorians of India call themselves "the Christians of St. Thomas." But the Indian king Gundaphorus, under whom he preached, is now discovered to be the Parthian prince Gondophares, reigning probably at Herat; and the transfer of prince and apostle to India is traced to the Parthians' calling the south-eastern part of their empire White India. As the Jewish dispersion had not passed beyond the Parthian boundary, Thomas had no errand to India.

It is questioned whether Thaddeus—or "Addai the Apostle," as the Syrians call him—ever labored in Edessa. Another tradition confines his labors to Syria, and represents him and Peter as martyred at Arad, in Phœnicia.

3. The apostles John and Philip are pretty well known to have labored in the Roman province of Asia,—Philip in the interior or Phrygian half of it, and John in the regions bordering the Aegean Sea. Early tradition identifies Philip with "Philip the Evangelist" of Acts 21:9, and brings his "four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy," to his field of labor. His residence was Hierapolis, one of the most beautiful watering-places of Asia, and the birthplace of Epictetus. It lay near Colosse and Laodicea, all of them sites of churches founded by Paul, as we learn from his Epistle to the Colossians. As Papias, the friend of Polycarp, was bishop of Hierapolis in the first half of the second century, and took great interest in collecting the traditions of the labors of the apostles, we may regard these facts as authentic. At the close of that century, Polycrates of Ephesus writes to Bishop Victor of Rome that Philip and three of his daughters died and were buried in Hierapolis, and the fourth at Ephesus.

That John labored at Ephesus and the surrounding cities of Asia is indicated very distinctly in the Revelation. The Latin fathers, Tertullian, Augustine, and Jerome, relate various circumstances of his life,—as his being thrown into a caldron of boiling oil under Nero, his drinking a dose of poison unharmed, his rescuing a robber chief from his sins, his addressing his people, in old age, with the words, "Children, love one another." Better authenticated is Irenæus's account of his rushing from the bath on finding that the heretic Cerinthus was present.

Two of the original apostles did not go out on missionary labors. James the Great,

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we know from Luke's narrative, fell by the sword of Herod. James the Less, Josephus tells us, was killed in a tumult in Jerusalem. Of Matthias, chosen to fill Iscariot's place, tradition is silent.

By what death did the other apostles die? That Peter was to die by martyrdom, John, writing after his death, says was intimated by our Lord (John 21:19). But the latter tradition of his death at Rome is discredited, and earlier tradition points to Syria as the region. Heracleon the Gnostic, writing in the end of the second century, specifies four of the apostles—Matthew, Philip, Thomas, and Lebbæus, or Thaddeus (whom he calls Levi)—as not having died a martyr's death. If this be authentic,—and we may add John to his list,—we find that Peter, Andrew, the two Jameses, Bartholomew, and Simon the Zealot are reported to have died for the confession of Christ's name. As to the manner of their death, nothing is known.

This review of what earliest tradition says of the labors of the apostles brings into clearer light than ever Paul's distinction as the apostle to the Gentiles. He is the only apostle that we have reason to suppose ever crossed over from Asia to Europe, or went to Gentiles who did not, like Cornelius to Peter, send for him. While Peter got so far as to admit that exceptional men, who feared God and wrought righteousness even without a knowledge of revelation, might be admitted into the Church, Paul addressed himself to the world of Gentile sinners as that which Christ had come to gather into the unity of eternal life.

have happened without doing violence to the order of nature.

It is quite conceivable that, whilst the earth was in process of cooling and solidifying, a ring of aqueous vapour should have been thrown off, as in the case of the planet Saturn, forming an equatorial girdle, as Saturn's rings do at a distance of perhaps a few hundred miles from the earth's surface. The equilibrium of such a ring might easily become unstable, and if retarded in velocity by friction with the upper atmosphere, it would in time collapse, and descend in overwhelming torrents on the tropical or subtropical regions of the earth. A local flood would result which would probably be of altogether unprecedented depth and extent, and which would abate as the accumulated water flowed away to the ocean, producing a permanent but small rise in the general sea level. It is worth noticing that this hypothesis gives a new significance to the description of the firmament in the first chapter of Genesis as "dividing the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament." It also adds force to the expression "the windows of heaven were opened." Lastly, it seems to suggest a singular appropriateness in the adoption of the rainbow as the sign of the promise that the catastrophe should not recur. Whilst the ring existed, it must usually have appeared as a magnificent arch of light across the sky. After its collapse this arch was gone forever, and with it the possibility of such a deluge. The beautiful phenomenon of the rainbow, similarly spanning the heavens, would be at once a reminiscence of the lost ring and a pledge of the non-recurrence of the deluge of which it was the cause.

NOAH'S FLOOD.—A CONJECTURE.

BY G. P. BIDDER, M.A., Q.C.

From *The Thinker* (London), July, 1892.

A CANDID consideration of the conditions involved, leads irresistibly to the conclusion that the Noachic flood must have been partial in extent, and not, as used to be held, universal. On the other hand, not only the Mosaic account, but all the numerous traditions of the flood, agree in representing it as being of an altogether exceptional character, sweeping away an entire race of men and prevailing to an extent which it seems hardly possible to explain by any rainfall, however severe or protracted. There is, however, an hypothesis, admittedly conjectural, but not impossible, which suggests a mode in which such a catastrophe might

THE OLD THEOLOGY.

From *The New York Observer* (Evang.), July 21, 1892.

IF there be a man less wise than the headstrong radical, it is the stolid conservative. If there be a less reasonable philosophy than that which sees the dawn of the millennium in every change, it is that which sees the golden age in every record of the past. The wise householder is not he whose parlors are burdened with brie-à-brac, nor he whose attic is filled with inherited and outworn implements of labor, but he who among his treasures preserves what is useful from the old and adopts what is serviceable from the new. A year ago we sat down in a family room in the part of the country

[August,

where the sea rolls in upon Cape Cod. In the fireplace still swung the crane which was bolted into place before the guns of Concord woke a new era; but the tallow dip had disappeared. The American citizen wears practically the same shoe worn by the Pharaohs before the exodus, but he has changed his hat. Whatever any noisy person may claim, the Bible is neither radical nor conservative, but demands proof of all things and retention only of the "good."

While rejoicing in much that may truly be called progress in the spirit and the method of the churches, we love the old-time theology, because it makes more of the Word of God than it does of human reason. Doubtless it is an "*a priori*" method of reasoning, but if God created a world and pronounced it "good," when he gave his Word, we shall not need to qualify too much our approbation of it. In the lines of Homer we read of shields and weapons which the gods gave their favorite heroes; and such equipment is the only one the bard deems it worth while to minutely describe. The gifts of heaven are not subject to such heavy discounts as the New Theology seems to assert. What if upon the outer rim of our grandmother's best china, presented to her by loving friends upon her wedding day, there be here a nick and there a crack in the enamel, we will do her friends the justice to assert that they were not there when first spread upon her board. Granted that we cannot produce the teapot and sugarbowl in their original state, we can produce some pretty good reasons for believing what their original state must have been from the known character and intent of the givers.

We love that preaching which makes much of the Bible and little of human substitutes, which quotes Moses oftener than Herbert Spencer, which is more familiar with the Epistles of St. Paul than with the poems of Emerson, and which proves an assertion by a "Thus saith the Lord," rather than by an appeal to Shakspeare.

Not the less does the Old Theology commend itself in that it makes more of faith than it does of doubt. Faith and doubt enter into the life of every man, but that which characterizes the man is the emphasis which he places upon either. The Psalmist had thoughts too painful for him, but he kept silence until some light shone upon the providence of God in the mystery of evil. Did not Job sit in ashes and be still, until the Almighty spoke for his consolation and enlightenment? Even Paul the aged felt that a part of that good fight

which he had been called to make was in keeping the faith in the midst of an ungodly world, but he preached what he "knew" rather than what he failed to discover.

If, as is true, the Old Theology exalts faith rather than reason, its faith is not a blind assent to senseless and contradictory dogmas. It is a faith founded upon a Word whose events are embedded in history and were "not done in a corner." Confessing that mystery attaches to all fundamental questions, it believes in the invisible God whom no eye hath seen, just as the science of to-day believes in the primordial atom which no eye hath seen. It is essentially a spiritual faith founded upon a spiritual philosophy, just as the doubt of to-day is a material creed founded upon a material philosophy, but it knows that the demonstration of the reality of matter is as impossible as a demonstration of the reality of spirit. Edison confesses that he knows no more about the nature of electricity than the first boy who first rubbed a bit of amber with a bit of silk in the dim ages of the unrecorded past; but Edison has not waited for what he does not know to give to the world his lamp, his telephone and his dynamo. We shall never in this life attain to more than partial knowledge; but a theology which begins with what it "does not know" will never be so effective as one that begins with what it does believe.

It is true that the Old Theology makes more of human sin than it does of human virtue ; but it may be perhaps because there is more of human sin with which to deal. It conceives the purpose and intent of the Church to be that of a physician, not that of an artist ; it was sent to heal the hurt of sin, not to idealize the broken form into a conceptional grace. Its message is to save and not to dream.

The man of a refined literary taste, in whose library there are a thousand volumes of delightful travel and sweet song, may express his contempt for the selections of his physician, upon whose shelves he finds books upon phthisis, and pictures of eczema, and chromos of sarcoma; but the time will come when he will thank God that his sick child is under the hand of one whose studies have not been confined to poetry and art. And when in the very midst of a Christian civilization two thousand years old, nothing preserves life and property but the policeman's club and the soldier's Gatling gun, it is hardly worth while to confine the pulpit to discourses upon the rose and the nightingale.

In the heart of the Rockies, where the Bow and the Saskatchewan have their source, we come upon a lake whose waters, crystal clear, reflect a sky sapphire blue. But what attracts attention is a little line winding around the granite shoulder of a bare foot-hill, scarcely wider than a ribbon, worn by the moccasin of the Indian and the unshod hoof of his pony. And this trail, we are told, leads for six hundred miles west and north over the great divide to those still more distant lakes of whose beauty and repose we have for years fondly dreamed. It matters nothing that the path little resembles in finish the width and smoothness of a Parisian boulevard; nor do we despise it because it is old. But in the heart there rises the hope that some day, if God wills it, we too shall take that narrow way, and beyond the summit of the distant pass find what innumerable travellers before us have already found, a sea of glass mingled with the fires of sunset, and on whose shores the weary find a rest and the care-worn exchange their burden for a song.

PAUL KOMAREVSKY'S DISCOVERY.

BY THE COUNTESS NORRAIKOW.

From *The Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.), New York, July 21, 1892.

FOR more than a year the gaunt spectre of famine, with all its attendant horrors, has stalked throughout the Russian land. The people cried in vain for bread to the great "White Czar," whom the peasants believe to be the father of their spiritual as well as temporal well-being. So dense is the ignorance of these poor creatures that they declare the emperor is God as well as czar, and when their appeal failed to touch the master's heart they lost all hope. In their despair they hurled anathemas at the "White Czar," whom they held responsible for all their misery.

In one of the once beautiful and fertile villages of the Caucasus there was even greater distress than in the less favored districts of former years. Starvation had carried off whole families, and the once happy and prosperous village was little more than a dreary waste. The peasants, unable longer to suffer the pangs of hunger, lay down by the wayside to die.

The condition of these perishing thousands was extremely pathetic. The government had failed to make any provision for such an emergency, and the people saw

nothing but death before them. Some of the peasants, seeing their families disappearing one by one, became desperate and sought the highways and byways in search of plunder. Woe to the traveller who crossed the path of these desperate men, for hunger had turned them into wild animals, and many a life had gone out in darkness while journeying through the mountain wilds and fastnesses of the beautiful Caucasian land. Others of the peasants burst open the granaries and storehouses of their native province and took by force what the governor denied them as their right. In many villages the starving peasants were subsisting on roots and bread made of the bark of trees. Imagine, if you can, such a state of things existing in America.

In the village of Dombovitza, in the province of Kuban, which was one of the very worst of the famine districts, there lived a peasant named Ivan Komarevsky. The family consisted of himself, his wife, his three children, and his aged mother. Ivan belonged to the better class of the peasantry, and the years preceding the famine had been very prosperous ones indeed.

At the close of the harvest the barn was filled with grain. The cattle had thriven and multiplied, and the two horses were sleek and strong. That was only two short years ago, but now all was changed. The lowing of the cattle was no longer heard, and the two sleek horses (alas! thin enough before their master parted with them) had been taken into the city and sold. But, worst of all, the barn was empty, for the harvest had failed.

One cow had been kept till within a few weeks of the events which I am about to relate. This cow had been kept for the sole use of the aged grandmother and the youngest member of the family. It was nearing Christmas-tide, and during the long autumn nights the little family went many times hungry to bed.

Ivan, although distressed by the misery which his household was forced to endure, bore his sufferings in silence, sternly refusing to apply to the village authorities for aid. He had seen his neighbors refused even a loaf of bread, in addition to being treated with the greatest harshness. The cry was everywhere heard: "Give us bread! Bread for Christ's sake!" This appeal was always met with the same response, and the petitioner would sadly turn his head aside as he muttered: "It is always the same—no bread."

Little Paul was the youngest member of the Komarevsky family. But five summers

had passed over his golden head when the famine began to ravage the land. That was just one year ago, and between that time and the present the once bright and joyous child had strangely changed.

His young eyes rested on sorrow on every side, and often was his little head bowed in grief as he saw his playmates, one after another, sicken and slowly die.

Then in his own once happy home he saw nothing but misery and want. His sisters, both older than himself, had grown very thin and white and silent, and they no longer took him for long walks through the quiet forest. The father, once so proud of his only son, now scarcely noticed him, and when he did chance to glance at him it was with eyes filled with pity, for he felt that if relief did not soon reach them they must all perish of hunger.

The lamp suspended before the holy image in the "sacred corner" had long ceased to burn, for the stricken family were too poor to purchase oil. Still, night and morning they prostrated themselves before the patron saint of the little home, praying that they be not allowed to die like dogs.

Paul, as they believed, without at all understanding what he was doing, followed the example of the other members of the family, and clasped his tiny hands and moved his lips as if in prayer. One day he startled his father by asking why the great "White Czar" allowed his people to die of hunger. Was he not also the God of whom they had told him so much? Why, then, did he not send food to his famishing thousands?

Ivan Komarevsky was at first greatly frightened on hearing his child ask such strange questions. He, like his neighbors, had been taught to believe that the czar was their father and protector in all things, and they never for a moment thought of doubting the teachings of their earlier years. It had been a long time since Paul's father had given a thought to a higher being than his emperor, in whom all his hopes of the present and a hereafter were centered.

The child's questions aroused a train of thought which had long lain dormant, and in his simple way he tried to tell little Paul that the Creator of the universe was a greater and nobler being than their czar.

Paul, with his small hands clasped, and his little woebegone face turned to his father, listened in silence. The suffering of the last year had made the boy strangely precocious, and as he heard his father un-

fold the wonderful story of the unseen God a beautiful smile illumined his haggard little face as he said :

"We will no longer pray to the great 'White Czar,' but to the greater God who made him—the God whose home is in the bright blue heavens, where the sun shines by day, and where myriads of stars twinkle by night. Dear papa, let us all pray to Him, for I am sure He will send us some corn and keep us from starving."

The father looked upon his child with a sort of awe, as if an angel had dropped into their household. He realized for the first time how cruel had been the hardships which his boy had undergone, and how old he had grown during the trial. He supposed that when Paul knelt with the others he did not understand what they were doing, but was simply following their example. But the child's present intelligence told its own story.

When the family afterward knelt night and morning Paul knelt with them, but never once did he turn his eyes in the direction of the "Sacred Corner."

The days went by, and the Yule-tide was slowly approaching. The famine continued unabated and the misery increased. Whole families had died off, and there was scarcely a young child left in the village.

Ivan Komarevsky and his family were reduced almost to skeletons, and had become so weak they could only with the greatest exertion move about the house. The aged grandmother had grown too feeble to leave her bed. Little Paul alone of all the once happy family retained his spirit, and they called him the angel of the household. With childlike faith he told them that he always prayed to the great God whose home was away up in the blue sky, and that if they would only be patient the corn would surely come. Ivan had of late been Paul's constant companion, and many and strange were the questions the boy asked his father.

When Christmas Eve came round the family of Ivan Komarevsky had reached the lowest depths of despair. They had not tasted food for twenty-four hours, and there seemed nothing left for them but the slow death of starvation. Paul, though dreadfully weak and emaciated, still retained his new faith.

Christmas Eve dawned clear and cold. Snow had been falling all day, but with the dying sunset it had ceased. The snowy mantle covered the ground to the depth of several inches, and when the moon peeped from behind the clouds and looked down

upon the earth its frozen surface shone like a great sheet of polished silver.

No fire burned in the home of the Komarevskys, and its genial warmth was sadly missed. No other light than the silvery rays of the moon lighted up the one room which now constituted the abode of the entire family. They had huddled together for warmth, and perhaps from a feeling that they would not much longer see each other alive.

It was near the midnight hour when the silence of the night was broken by some one knocking gently on the door of the humble home. Meeting with no response, the knocking became louder, and little Paul, hearing the sound, aroused the others to tell them that it was the angel he had been expecting with the promised corn. Ivan Komarevsky, by a great effort, dragged himself to the door and opened it, when he saw standing before him a man all covered with snow and looking very weary.

The stranger asked permission to enter, saying he had lost his way, and would they give him shelter for the night? Ivan explained that there was neither fire, light, nor food in the house; but that he was welcome to remain if he wished. The stranger carried a large bag on his back, and he had evidently prepared for a long journey. Placing the bag on the floor, he first drew forth a candle, which he lighted and set on the table.

The tale of misery which the light revealed made the man's stout heart quail, and stepping to the corner where the two older women were lying with closed eyes he eagerly scanned their faces to learn if life still remained within their shrunken bodies. Becoming satisfied that they were breathing, he hastily took from his bag a small bottle of medicine, a few drops of which he poured down the throat of each. The stimulant caused them to open their eyes and look about them with astonishment.

The entire family were by this time aroused, and the famished people greedily ate the bread and salt which the stranger produced from the depths of his wonderful bag. Little Paul alone seemed indifferent to what was going on around him, and when they offered him some of the welcome food he only shook his curly head as he turned restlessly on his hard bed.

The stranger who had so fortunately appeared on the scene was from another part of Russia, and was on his way to visit friends. He had during the storm in the earlier part of the day wandered away from the road, and seeing the house he thought

he would apply for shelter. He knew that famine was ravaging the land, but did not expect to meet such extreme destitution. The stranger was supplied with plenty of money, a portion of which he loaned Ivan to provide suitable food and clothing for himself and family. He remained several days in the humble home, and when he took his departure he carried with him the blessings of a grateful family.

Only one shadow darkened the hour of deliverance. Little Paul, the idol of the household, lay sick unto death. For days he tossed to and fro, muttering praise of the angel which the great God had sent with the corn. Over and over again he repeated the story of how he had prayed to the God whose home was in the blue heavens, and how he had asked them all to be patient and have faith.

For ten days the angel-child tossed in the delirium of fever, the golden head was never still, and the large blue eyes had a strange, far-away look in them. Toward the close of the tenth day, just as the sun was sinking to rest, the tired eyes closed and the little hands crossed themselves as the angelic spirit of little Paul winged its way to the great God in whom his childish faith had been so strangely placed.

THE TERCENTENARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

BY THE REV. J. H. BERNARD, D.D.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Undenom.), Philadelphia, July 23, 1892.

In July, 1892, the University of Dublin celebrates her three hundredth birthday, and scholars from all parts of the world assemble in the metropolis of Ireland to offer their congratulations on her past history, and their good wishes for her future. Not so old, nor so rich, as many colleges at Oxford or Cambridge, the corporation of Trinity College, Dublin, is yet one to which any man might be proud to belong, when he considers the long list of her famous sons, and the remarkable history of her steady growth in dignity and usefulness throughout three centuries in a country ever torn by faction and distracted by party strife.

Several attempts were made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to establish a university in Ireland which might bear comparison with the great sister universities

of the sister kingdom, but it was not until the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth that any permanent result was arrived at. Partly through the political intrigues of a sagacious Yorkshire priest, Adam Loftus, but mainly through the exertions of a respectable Dublin family bearing the honored name of Chaloner, a royal charter was obtained from the Queen in 1591, and a college which was intended, as the charter vaguely says, to be *mater universitatis* ("the mother of a university"), was established on the site of the old monastery of All Hallows. This site was the gift of the corporation of the city, and has now become of great value, but in those days was worth little. None the less, the college will gratefully commemorate, at her Tercentenary Festival Service, as in days of old, her benefactors, "the Lord Mayor and Corporation of the City of Dublin." The worthy aldermen of the day gave as they were able; and, whether we have regard to the generosity of the intention or the magnificence of the result, they deserve to be held in grateful remembrance.

From these small beginnings the college grew, though at first but slowly. The number of persons in Ireland in the sixteenth century who desired university education was not large, and inasmuch as the original foundation excluded from its benefits Roman Catholics, who have always formed the most considerable section of the population in Ireland, the number of possible aspirants to academic distinction was still further reduced. But among the first batch of students who matriculated at the new college was a boy afterward known throughout Europe as the greatest scholar of his time,—James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh. His curious and exact learning fixed the attention of learned men thus early upon the little college that he claimed as his *alma mater*; and, though he is now best known, perhaps, as the originator of the system of chronology with which the margins of our ordinary English Bibles are furnished, yet he has many more serious and really valuable claims to the veneration of students of Holy Scripture. He was one of the few men of his day who interested himself in textual criticism; and the number of ancient manuscripts, both Syriac and Greek, that he collected and collated during his lifetime would stock a good-sized book-case. He would no doubt have been provost of the college, had he not received ecclesiastical preferment early in life; and it may be doubted whether the gain to the Church by his episcopal labors was not too

dearly paid for by the loss of his wise counsels during the internal dissensions that continued throughout the opening decades of the seventeenth century. The early provosts were imported from England, and in many cases they proved themselves incapable of understanding the Irish character or the conditions of Irish education.

The students at this period were mostly mere boys, and they seem to have needed the restraints that we are more accustomed to associate with school than with college life. For instance, here is an entry from the Book of Censures in the time of Provost Temple (1617): "T. Cuff and J. Travers, for their irreverent and savage carriage in the presence of Sir John King, to make three public acknowledgments of their faults at three several times in the hall; to forbear going out into town for six months, except to hear sermons; and for six months not to keep company with each other. Cuff, for wounding with a knife the scullion of the kitchen, to lose his privilege of adult age, and to rest subject to the rod until he graduates."

But despite these frolics, serious pursuits were not neglected. Hebrew and Greek were read by divinity students, and the study of the Irish language was encouraged by successive provosts, notably by Provost Bedell. Mathematics was little thought of until late in the eighteenth century. In this Trinity College, Dublin, but followed the example of the more ancient seats of learning throughout Europe. Logic and metaphysics always formed part of the curriculum, and Locke's *Essay*, adopted as a text-book shortly after its publication (1692), has ever since remained in the philosophical courses as a subject of study. But Locke's work is connected in another way with the history of Trinity College. It was from it that George Berkeley derived his first notions of psychology, and the idealist philosophy with which Berkeley astonished the thinking world of the early eighteenth century was the natural outcome of the development of Lockian principles. "When Bishop Berkeley," sang Byron, "said there was no matter, 'twas no matter what he said." And, though this simple and easy dismissal of a system so foreign to the instincts of mankind has always been popular, yet thoughtful minds ever since look back to Berkeley as, through Hume, the father of modern philosophy.

How Bishop Berkeley's chivalrous efforts to found a college in the Bermudas for the benefit of the native population fell through for want of funds and helpers, cannot be

told here, for want of space ; but there is no chapter in the history of philanthropy more deeply interesting than the account of the struggles of Dean Berkeley, as he then was, and his devoted friends, to carry on their self-imposed task in the cause of humanity far away from home and kindred.

Other names not unknown in the early days of the college are those of William Congreve, the dramatist, now best remembered as the author of the often parodied lines, "Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast ;" of Dudley Loftus, the Orientalist ; of Nahum Tate, the versifier of the Psalms, and poet-laureate of his generation. But none of these names are so familiar as those of the men of the eighteenth century. Take him all around, George Berkeley was probably the greatest genius that the University of Dublin ever produced ; but his works are "caviare to the general."

For one reader of Berkeley there are a hundred readers of Burke, there are a thousand readers of Swift or of Goldsmith. "Gulliver's Travels" and "The Vicar of Wakefield" are probably as well known as any works produced in the English language in the eighteenth century. Swift is peculiarly associated with Dublin ; indeed, the only piece of church preferment that ever fell to him was the deanery of St. Patrick's Cathedral,—that stately church where his bones still rest, *ubi saeva indignatio cor ulterius lacerare nequit*, as his mournful epitaph still records. Poor Swift ! Understood but imperfectly by the men of his own generation, and still less by ourselves, his life and character furnish one of the saddest and most perplexing problems which meet the student of literary history. His academic career was not brilliant ; but it speaks well of the acumen of the college dons who were responsible for the discipline of that wayward intellect, that, in an old document preserved in the archives, it is recorded of "Swift, Jon.," that his mathematics were "poor," his classics "middling," but his essay "very good." The only reminder from old times of Goldsmith that remains is a bit of glass out of the window of his former chamber, with his name cut thereon in bold characters ; but a few years ago a noble statue of him was erected in front of the college, where, along with Burke and opposite to Grattan, he is portrayed in bronze only less lasting than the writings with which he has charmed the English-speaking world.

It would not be of general interest to continue to note the names of the first mag-

nitude that appear in the matriculation books of the college. Flood the orator, Hamilton the mathematician, Barrett the eccentric Orientalist, Hincks the decipherer of cuneiform writing, Molyneux the correspondent of Descartes, were all well-known men who left their mark ; but it would be of little service to apportion with precision their meed of praise. The visitor to Dublin will see their pictures and busts in the examination theatre or the library, but unless he be specially conversant with the life-work of each, he will not be curious to make inquiry into their antecedents. To such a visitor, the first thing that will strike him, especially if he be fresh from Oxford or Cambridge, is the stateliness of the college buildings and the spaciousness of the courts. The library will bear comparison with any building devoted to a similar purpose in Europe, and the area covered by the quadrangles is noteworthy when it is remembered that Trinity College stands in the midst of a crowded city, where every square foot of land is of great commercial value.

The foreign visitor will also be shown the college plate, much of which is worth seeing. The mace, the loving-cups (each with its own history or legend), the great silver bowls which almost speak of the hospitality of days of yore, when the measure of a man's sociability was his capacity for consumption of punch ; these are displayed daily at dinner in the Commons Hall. There was a pious custom formerly, that each student on graduating should leave behind him a piece of plate as a memento of his undergraduate days,—a custom which is now unhappily more honored in the breach than in the observance.

These old traditions are beyond price in a great institution, and it is mournful to see them dying away with the growth of the modern utilitarian spirit. We have a cup, for instance (used every day), given by Lord Mornington, once professor of music, who was the father of the great Duke of Wellington ; we have Ussher's books ; we have the original manuscript of Berkeley's "Principles of Human Knowledge ;" we still recite before the "commons" dinner the Latin grace prescribed in the Caroline statutes, and commemorate our benefactors : "Elizabethe regina hujus collegii conditrice, Jacobo ejusdem munificentissimo auctore, Carolo conservatore, caeterisque benefactoribus nostris." We still show the old mulberry-tree in the fellows' garden, old when the college was founded, and it stood in the orchard of the monastery of

All Hallows; we can still drink of the water (though few of us do) where St. Patrick is said to have baptized multitudes of our heathen forefathers.

These traditions are worth more than buildings, than money, ay, than present reputation, though it seem absurd to say so; for the very life of an old institution consists in the ever-present consciousness of its continuity with a past of splendid traditions, of an inheritance of which it is the duty and the privilege of the men of to-day to pass on unimpaired. And it is these legends (idle, and without monetary value, if you will) that keep alive and foster this feeling of continuity. You cannot invent them to order; they are a slow growth, and, be it observed, they never grow except where there is preserved the remembrance of an honorable past.

Of the present condition and prospects of Trinity College it is not fitting for a member of the corporation to speak. There are about twelve hundred students on her books, of all religious denominations. She has schools of divinity, medicine, law, and engineering; but as yet she has not forgotten that her main business, the chief function of a university, is to give a liberal education in arts, to train men not so much to be good lawyers, doctors, or parsons, as to be gentlemen and scholars.

Trinity College, Dublin.

A LADY had just completed a book for children, and Dr. Wendell Holmes kindly consented to read the manuscript. When it was returned to her she naturally looked it over with eagerness to see what criticisms her distinguished friend had made. She turned page after page, but found no erasure, mark, or marginal note, until at length, nearly at the end of the story, she came to a single neatly pencilled line in Dr. Holmes's fine handwriting. It was placed against a passage upon which she had rather prided herself—a vivid description of the picnic feast of a group of children in a grove. First reading the paragraph to see if she herself could find anything amiss, she next read what he had written. It was this: "Don't let those children eat pickles." Much relieved to find that it was the doctor, not the author, who had found fault with her work, the lady at once drew a line through the offending viands, and when the story of the picnic appeared in print, pickles were omitted from the bill of fare.—*Exchange.*

LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN. (Expositor's Bible.)
By MARCUS DODS, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology, New College, Edinburgh. Volume I. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1891. 8vo, pp. xiii., 388, \$1.50.

Dr. Dods is now so well known to biblical students that everything from his pen is sure of a warm welcome. This volume is an exposition of the first eleven chapters of the Gospel of John. The author's estimate of the Fourth Gospel, from a literary standpoint, is succinctly stated in the introductory note: "In the whole range of literature there is no composition which is a more perfect work of art, or which more rigidly excludes whatever does not subserve its main end. From the first word to the last there is no paragraph, sentence, or expression which is out of place, or with which we could dispense. Part hangs together with part in perfect balance. The sequence may at times be obscure, but sequence there always is. The relevancy of this or that remark may not at first sight be apparent, but irrelevancy is impossible to this writer." He adopts De Wette's discovery that the thought which gives unity to the work is the manifestation of Christ's glory.

On these eleven chapters there are twenty-four discourses of moderate length. There is no continuous exposition of the text verse by verse, but the fundamental thought of a paragraph or section is taken as the theme of a homily, and while the theme is illustrated and enforced by a skilful use of the Gospel material, it would be useless to seek in this book for Dr. Dods's interpretation of particular verses. The basic conceptions of the Fourth Gospel are set forth with clearness, candor, and abundant learning, but for detailed exegesis one must look elsewhere. So, too, the range of topics treated in the New Testament introduction is wholly excluded. Occasionally a disputed point is glanced at, as in the statement that it may be doubted whether the feast of v. 1 is the Feast of Tabernacles or Purim; but there is no discussion of such matters. This book is not a guide, then, to one who is seeking to thread his way through the mazes of the Johannine question. It would be unfair, however, to say that it gives no help for the solution of that question. It does not lead the reader to every cool spring and shady retreat in the Gospel country, and make every foot of its soil familiar, but it does bear him up to the successive mountain peaks and unroll the grandeur and glory of the Messianic realm. A thoughtful perusal of this book cannot fail to produce—at least in the average reader—a clearer and truer conception of the character and glory of Jesus Christ and of the religion which He founded.

The style is simple, clear, and straightforward. The writer's one aim is to make Gospel truth perfectly intelligible. The apologetic element is somewhat prominent, but there is nothing antiquated in the theology defended. The treatment is thoroughly modern in its tone. The essentials of Christianity are emphasized, but there is avoidance both of outworn theological formulas and of over-confident affirmation about uncertainties.

The following quotations fairly represent the style and tone of the volume:

"The preservative against any definite form of sin is a strong spiritual life, a healthy condition not easily fatigued in duty, and not easily over-

come by temptation. Perhaps the Gospel has come to be looked upon too exclusively as a remedial scheme, and too little as the means of maintaining spiritual health. So marked is its efficacy in reclaiming the vicious, that its efficacy as the sole condition of healthy human life is apt to be overlooked" (p. 212).

"Good men, as well as others, have their narrow views and illiberal prejudices, and mark off in their own minds as hopeless and barren whole religions, sects, or countries out of which God determines to bring that which is for the healing of the nations. To rise above such prejudices we must refuse to accept current rumors, traditional opinions, proverbial or neat dicta which seem to settle a matter; we must conscientiously examine for ourselves, as Philip says, 'Come and see.' He instinctively knew how useless it was to reason with men about Christ's claims so long as they were not in His presence. One look, one word from Himself will go further to persuade a man of His majesty and love than all that any one else can say. 'To make Christ known is the best way to prove the truth of Christianity'" (p. 64).

"And as the Teacher taught by living, so must the scholar learn by living. Christ brings light by passing through all human experiences and situations, and 'he that followeth' Him, not he that reads about Him, 'shall have the light of life.' There are very few men in the world who can think to much purpose on truths so abstruse and complicated as the divinity of Christ and the atonement and miracles; but there is no man so dull as not to see the difference between Christ's life and his own" (p. 282).

A few strictures of minor importance may be added in conclusion. It seems to be the author's purpose to prefix to each discourse the passage upon which it is based, but vi. 1-59 is wanting, and there are other less important omissions, as iii. 22-36, iv. 27-30. It is gratifying to note that the Revised Version is used throughout. There is an admirable exposition of vii. 17 on p. 252, but strangely enough, on p. 311 the usual misquotation finds place, "He that doeth the will of God."

Those who read this volume will eagerly await the issue of the second.

FRANK E. WOODRUFF,
BOWDOIN COLLEGE, BRUNSWICK, ME.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RELIGION. The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1891. By F. MAX MÜLLER, K.M. London and New York: Longmans, 1892. 8vo, pp. xxvii, 464, §3.

As the title of this course of the Gifford Lectures, like that (Physical Religion) which preceded it, seems at first a little obscure, we may at the outset give the author's own explanation as follows:

"The principal object of the study of *anthropological religion*, in its historical development, is to learn how man has been searching for the god-like element in human nature, just as a study of *physical religion* showed him to us as bent on discovering something Divine or infinite in that objective nature by which he found himself surrounded" (p. 351).

In his somewhat elaborate preface the learned lecturer proceeds to defend himself against the severe criticisms which had been made upon his former course, and he does not disguise his expectation that more criticisms are to follow his present effort.

In tracing what he supposes to have been the true historic development of man's search after the infinite, he departs far enough from the teachings of Christian theology; he knows nothing of a preternatural revelation, of an infallible Bible or of miracles in any form; but, on the other hand, he very positively rejects the extreme views of some of the most popular advocates of evolution. The ideas so often advanced by Lubbock and others that races of men are found without any worship or even conception of God, he represents as now exploded and by all true scholars abandoned (p. 172).

From page 150 to 154 the lecturer pours discredit, if not ridicule, upon the facility with which such authors as Herbert Spencer have paraded as facts the statements, made by sailors and traders as well as missionaries, as to the religious beliefs of men of which they had had the most superficial observation, and he shows a sort of pity for those ardent disciples who find it hard to part with the convenient authorities which seem to support their pet theories. "I do not wonder," he says, "that those who depend for their information on the tabulated extracts published by Mr. Herbert Spencer should be unwilling to surrender these convenient 'aids to faith' without a struggle." They are part of the bridge which it is fondly hoped may yet close up the wide abyss between the man and the ape.

Professor Max Müller also takes issue squarely with "the few biologists, who, undeterred by the absence of facts, still profess a belief in the descent of man from some known or unknown animal species" (p. 185). Referring to Virchow's challenge to Haeckel to produce any proofs on this point, he says, "Surely a challenge from Virchow cannot be ignored; why, then, has it never been taken up?"

On page 299 our learned lecturer deals a blow at Mr. Spencer's theory that the intuitions of men result from the experience of ancestors. "How could it be said," he asks, "that a belief in universal justice arises from repeated experience? Surely no one would say that our experience teaches us again and again that the good are rewarded and the bad punished in this life. One might even go so far as to say that it is the repeated experience of the very contrary—namely, of the misfortunes of the good and the triumphs of the bad, that provokes an appeal to and a belief in a higher justice."

But the most sweeping criticism which the author makes against some of the popular theories which now go by the name of science is that in which (p. 133) he condemns Mr. Spencer's dictum that all religion had its origin in the worship of ancestors. He says: "In expressing my strong difference of opinion with regard to the facts and theories in his 'Principles of Sociology,' I can clearly see that the responsibility lies less with him than with the 'tabulated evidence' on which he founded his theories. . . . I make no secret that I consider the results of Mr. Spencer's one-sided explanation of the origin of religion as worthy of the strongest condemnation which a love of truth can dictate."

Max Müller does not appear to believe that all races of men have pursued precisely the same path in reaching their religious faiths. Ancestor-worship has had its place; but before man had a conception of supernatural power in the spirits of the departed (animism), he must have first conceived of the *anima* (soul), if not of a higher—a Divine

soul. In his previous lectures on *physical religion*, the author took the position that mankind began with a worship of the visible powers of nature, especially with fire and the heavenly bodies. That the concepts of God and of the human soul were developed together is the point specially emphasized in the present volume.

While the author's theories of the development of religion in man seem more plausible than those of Spencer or the totem theory of Miss Amelia B. Edwards and others, they will not gain the suffrages of Christian theists. They will prefer the fact presented in Max Müller's earlier works, that so far as real history and traditions can be traced, there seems to have been a simple theotheistic conception of a supreme God implanted "where only it can be implanted in the heart of man."

On the whole, the present volume is one of great interest. The web of its argument is not evenly woven, but it is all the richer for its liberties of style, as it introduces a vast amount of instructive matter, and it shows, as do all the works of the learned author, a vast range of research.

F. F. ELLINWOOD.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

AN INTRODUCTION TO ETHICS. By J. CLARK MURRAY, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Professor of Philosophy, McGill College, Montreal. Boston : De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., 1891. 8vo, pp. vii., 407.

THE CRISIS IN MORALS. An Examination of Rational Ethics in the Light of Modern Science. By JAMES THOMPSON BIXBY, Ph.D. Boston : Roberts Brothers, 1891. 12mo, pp. viii., 315, \$1.

The highest praise is due to Dr. Murray for his admirably written book. Though an introduction merely, it is far more valuable than many works more diffuse. Following a natural order and marking an important distinction, the material is grouped into two main divisions—ethical psychology and ethics proper. In the first, the chief interest attaches to the analysis of the moral consciousness. Especially good is the outline of the development of this consciousness in the concrete, showing, as the author maintains, a uniform tendency to recognize a practical rule of universal validity and to expand its sphere till the whole of human conduct is brought under its decisions. In the second book, the first inquiry concerns the supreme law of duty, determined, on its part, by the conception of the sovereign good. The conflicting theories are classified as Epicurean and Stoical, according as they do or do not regard the ultimate aim of action to be pleasure. The consideration and candor shown everywhere in the treatment of opponents is here conspicuous ; but it involves no lack of firmness in criticism. It is successively demonstrated that pleasure is not the ultimate object of all human action in practice ; is not, even though it were, the necessarily most desirable object ; is not a criterion of rightness that can be practically applied ; and does not correspond to the code of morality which civilized nations inculcate. But the various attempts to formulate more precisely the objective end demanded by the opposite theory are also criticised. Dr. Murray himself accepts the Kantian view that the sovereign good is the completely formed will (p. 402) ; but at this point he merely urges that the uncertainty of moral theories does not materially affect the practical determination of duties. In the discussion of duties, next taken up, considerable space is devoted to the ethics of social prob-

lems. The notion that the law of supply and demand is *moral* law is emphatically rejected, and the important principle is enounced that every man should receive "such a share of the whole wealth produced as is equivalent to the share which he has contributed by his industry" (p. 312) ; but there is nothing *doctrinaire* in the treatment of these subjects. The form of society best adapted to secure its ends is wisely left to be determined by political and economic science. The doctrine of moral atheism advocated in the concluding section on Virtue is worthy of all attention, particularly by those who have to do with the moral training of the young.

The present crisis in morals, due to the disturbing influence of the doctrine of evolution on traditional theories, can only be met by a thorough examination of the new ethics and a thorough reconstruction of the old. This task Dr. Bixby essays in the volume before us. The theory specially selected for attack is Herbert Spencer's. The author aims to show that Spencer's theory is a thoroughly inconsistent Hedonism, tacitly conceding its own insufficiency, shifting at convenience from Utilitarianism to Intuitionism, never really getting into the proper sphere of moral judgment, the motive and will, and having a natural tendency to disastrous consequences in practice. Mr. Spencer is certainly not free from inconsistencies, and his language is often singularly open to misconstruction. In the main, Dr. Bixby's criticism is temperate and fair. It is, however, a perversion when he interprets his opponent's account of the psychological genesis of our "feeling of obligation in general," as though it were meant to be a logical deduction of morality. Mr. Spencer has himself strongly protested against this assumption. It is also a perversion to treat the "illusory independence," of which Spencer speaks, of the abstract idea of duty, in psychological reference, as though it were tantamount to regarding the existence of duties itself as an illusion. Again, a cardinal point in Mr. Spencer's system—the conception that conduct is to be determined by an ideal of social relationships in which human life is completely realized through voluntary co-operation, receives no adequate recognition. It does not seem to be essentially different from the author's own view that the test of moral action is its tendency to promote the ideal perfection of the race. In his positive reconstruction of ethics "on the basis of evolution and scientific knowledge," Dr. Bixby tells us that what the world has at heart is to bring forth *consciousness*, and that consequently our duty is to conform our motives to this objective indication of the essential nature of things. But why? If we believed that conscious life were essentially miserable, it would be hard to persuade us that its mere being were desirable, or that we were under any obligation to promote it. After all is said, therefore, an element of Hedonism does remain in our conception of the highest good ; but the point that it is not the supreme principle of action is maintained with manliness, acumen, and a refreshing moral enthusiasm, and no one can read the book without profit.

H. N. GARDINER.
SMITH COLLEGE.

The Story of the Token, as belonging to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, by Robert Shiels. (New York : John Ireland, 1892. 12mo, pp. 170, \$1.) To many, even to many Presbyterians, this story will come like an archaeological tale or a page from an unknown history. The "token"

was a ticket of admission to the communion table given to those who were adjudged fit after an examination more or less thorough. It has been in vogue in almost all lands to which the sentiments and practices of Scotch Presbyterianism have gone. While Scotland was its home, in pre-eminent degree, the origin of the custom is traced backward by the author through France, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries even to the Post-Apostolic times, and in its fundamentals even to the days of the apostles. Rev. ii. 17, 2 Cor. iii. 1, seem to have some bearing upon the development of the "token." Mr. Shiels does not claim to have made an exhaustive study, but as his account is based upon a collection of 800 specimens and upon a quite extended reading and investigation, it is well worthy of a careful perusal.

THE WORLD AND THE MAN. By HUGH MILLER THOMPSON, D.D., Bishop of Mississippi. The Baldwin Lectures, 1890. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 12mo, pp. 258.

This is the fourth book which Bishop Thompson has published, and it is one of the best. The author has a way of coming to the point with a tremendous downrightness and plainness of speech, and he sees his points so clearly and states them in such terms that even he who runs may understand them. He has a very keen sense of what our questions are, and reduces them to their simplest statement. His object is to show that our Lord understood what was in man, and that what He did as the Christ and as the Incarnate Son of man was equal to the world's needs. The excellence of Bishop Thompson's book is that he sees very clearly a few determining points in his subject, and that he works out his convictions from these principles in a thoroughly original and personal manner. His style is crisp, simple, almost rough in its plainness, and there is not a reference throughout the volume to any other writer who has dealt with this subject. His volume does not fail in vigor or in interest. He simply takes up some facts in the work of Christ in a fresh and original way and presses them, with all the force which he can command, on the reader. His best lecture is the one entitled "The Law of the Case," in which he puts the distinction very simply between natural and supernatural law. It is refreshing to find a writer who does not dilute his thought, but with this primitive vigor there goes a great deal of roughness which will deprive Bishop Thompson's thought of the large consideration which it ought to receive. His book will be read and studied because the author has something to say, but his manner of expressing himself is often far below the dignity of his subject. It is not necessary for a man to be boorish in his writing in order to be brilliant and forcible. Many things in the volume should have been left unsaid, or have been said better. Bishop Thompson's great merit is that he knows how to prick a great many religious bubbles, and has no toleration for theological nonsense.

BROOKLINE, MASS. JULIUS H. WARD.

OUR SACRED COMMISSION. By the Rev. FREDERICK R. WYNNE, D.D., Professor of Pastoral Theology in the University of Dublin, etc. New York: James Pott & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. 220, \$1.

This modest book is worthy of unqualified

praise. Its contents formed originally part of a course of lectures on pastoral theology to a class of divinity students. They are among the very best words of the kind which have been spoken. They are full of "sanctified common sense." They are the words of a sagacious, broad-minded, devout man. They have that *simplicity* which appears so easy and which is so difficult to attain, and they are illuminated by that sense of humor which attends always upon the highest wisdom.

There are three short lectures on "Ministerial Character"—in fact, they begin and end with this; for the writer sees, what not everybody does see, that a clergyman's work is worth just what he himself is worth, no more and no less. The final efficiency of a sermon or a counsel by a minister is fixed by the propulsive power of the man himself—that is, by his character.

There are chapters on "Dealing with Beginners," "Dealing with the Doubting," "The Conduct of Public Worship," and on "Sermon Preparation," which are most admirable. It would be hard to find a small volume which one would prefer to place in the hands of the newly ordained deacon. It is better even than Bishop Wilberforce's addresses.

S. D. McCONNELL.

PHILADELPHIA.

THOMAS CARLYLE'S MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT. A Study, by EWALD FLÜGEL. From the German by Jessica Gilbert Tyler. With a Portrait. New York: M. L. Holbrook & Co., 1891. 12mo, pp. xiv., 140.

To an old student and lover of Carlyle, whose mind was seeded down in youth by that sower of his time-field, no title could be more attractive than this. But perhaps no one but a Scotchman of Carlyle's own type could fulfil its promise satisfactorily; for, after all, the mind of that great son of Britain was British, not Teutonic, and it could scarcely be given to a German, however admiring and appreciative, to enter wholly into its ways of life and thought.

Dr. Flügel (until lately professor at Leipsic University, we believe) has laid out his task with German thoroughness of method. He begins with Carlyle's belief in something higher than the visible, and his dislike of mechanism in ethics and philosophy. Thence he passes to his attitude toward that group of interests which may be classed under such terms as Christianity, God, the Church, dogmatic theology. Successive chapters deal respectively with his relations to science, to art and poetry, to history, and to ethics; but all this interesting thoroughness is in method rather than in execution. The work has been mainly done by assembling Carlyle's utterances on the subjects indicated above, and leaving him to speak for himself; but the whole question is one of interpretation and deduction. There are some of us who think that Carlyle was, on the whole, always much nearer the Calvinism in which he was brought up than sometimes appeared in the explosive momentum of his own utterances when under the stimulus of a strong insight, at the instant, into the prominence of some especial aspect of a many-sided truth. He certainly uses orthodox expression abundantly; also he as certainly says much in pantheistic language; the perpetual standing question is, how to put yourself inside his mind, and see exactly how far and in what sense he meant either. No mere citations of his

words, however ample, meets the difficulty of the case. The author has indeed made some comments as he passes, but we think the book fails to justify wholly the promise of its title. The reader will not learn from it exactly with what regiment Carlyle marched, even as a free lance. The little book is good and interesting as far as it goes, but probably its best use is that its orderly marshalling of Carlyle's highest utterances, each under its topic, will give a fresh impression of how essentially religious, in the generic sense of that word, was the atmosphere in which that great man and writer lived, and thought, and wrought.

The translator's part seems well done, but there is some careless proof-reading.

MANCUS H. HUTTON.

NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.

SYNOPSIS OF LEADING ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS.

THE July number of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* contains a very interesting and very instructive article, "Theological Thought among French Protestants," by Professor A. Grelat. An American reader cannot fail to observe that at several vital points the article touches certain forms of American theology, and the system of Ritschl, to which the author ascribes a decisive influence upon the movement described, has recently been spoken of more than once in our religious press as a probable element in the coming theology of America. The author goes back to the revival which took place in the French Protestant Church between 1820 and 1830, and which to us is principally represented by Vinet. As a reaction against this revival developed the so-called liberal Christianity, principally through Scherer. Scherer stands in the history of the Church as a psychological problem almost insoluble. When he first attracted attention, in 1843, he was at rest in implicit faith under the traditional authority. "Conscience, indeed, varies among different people. . . . Without revelation moral ideas will be nothing more than opinions more or less individual." In 1849 he had discovered, however, that "there is a *naïve* and self-conscious faith that embraces an entire system without examination, and there is a critical faith that weighs a system before receiving it." And in 1854 he was done weighing the system, and had found out that those "arguments drawn from the prophets and miracles, those vicious circles that pretend by texts to establish the authority of texts, cannot persuade a man to submit to a book that will not speak to his soul." Of course, he and his followers ended in a church without a priesthood, a religion without a catechism, a morality without dogmatics, and a God without an obligatory system. As a party, however, liberal Christianity had only a fleeting existence, but when it disappeared it left behind a horror of all doctrinal authority or dogmatics external to and superior to the *ego*, and the seemingly insoluble dilemma is still the same; either there is liberty of investigation and the authority investigated is no longer an authority, or there is external authority, blind and implicit faith, and—where is individuality? The method by which contemporary thought believes that it can find the solution of this antinomy is *experimental*. For reason, which formerly was accepted as the supreme criterion of truth, the adversaries of all external authority now substitute the testimony of the Christian con-

sciousness or of inward experience, and this reaction of men's minds has become a fact so general in French Protestantism that it is hardly possible any more to receive a production either by the masters or pupils of the theological schools or by a pastor without meeting the influence of this predominant idea; but this method is certainly a German importation. It is the method of Ritschl, a return to the nominalism of the Middle Ages, a reappearance of contemporary positivism in the domain of theology. Every general idea of genus or species is discarded, and the sole demonstrable verity retained is the particular fact, that which concerns the individual and has become an integral part of individual experience. Among the adherents of this experimental method there are at least some who claim that, starting from their Christian experience, they have recovered the whole objective content of Christian revelation, up to and including the doctrine of the personal pre-existence of Christ. They contend that this fact or this doctrine is the necessary presupposition of their own Christian experience, which without it would be an effect without a sufficient cause. As the representative opponents of all external and coercive authority, the author then mentions the philosopher, M. Charles Sécretan, the late M. Edmond de Pressensé, and M. Astié, Professor of the Free Theological Faculty of Lausanne, for Switzerland, and M. Sabatier, Professor of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris, and M. Leopold Monod, a nephew of Adolph Monod and pastor of the Free Church of Lyons, for France, and gives a clear, precise, and very vivid characterization of their respective standpoints.

As a supplement to this article may be read, with great profit, another in the current number of *The Andover Review*, "The Ethics of Creed Conformity," by Professor J. Macbride Sterrett. Indeed, one feels tempted to say that the true solution of the above problem is found and demonstrated here—at least so far as our times is concerned—in the *historic* method; for surely the historical spirit of to-day will recover for us the worth of creeds that the vulgar rationalism of an unhistorical age criticised almost to death. The sympathetic study of other great world-religions is producing a vaster and more complex appreciation of the spirit of humanity, and it is but fair to suppose that in due time the same spirit will rescue Christianity from the Philistines of vulgar rationalism, and recognize its immense significance as a work of the spirit which nothing but a suicidal unreason will dare to ignore. This historical spirit and comparative method will soon be busy in raising from the depths of oblivion and obloquy every form of Christian belief, not merely in the way of an amateur antiquarianism, but with genuine interest in its own spiritual heritage; for the historical method is simply that of evolution applied to the work of the human spirit instead of to nature. What were the wants and their environments that made such creeds and institutions grow, and what are the new wants and environments which may be organically related to them in further progress? How did they originate, grow, evolve, and what is the probable trend of their further development? Such are the questions which naturally arise in a mind which cannot stop with events, but demands history. Past forms of creed and cult are estimated by their own contemporary situations, problems, and solutions. When an English clergyman, being asked his opinion of the Salvation Army, replied: "Could

any one imagine Jesus Christ as an officer of such an organization?" he was aptly answered, that it was just as easy to imagine Jesus Christ as a Salvation Army officer toiling in the slums of London, as to imagine Him as a bishop with £25,000 a year and a seat in the House of Lords. Let this conception of the modern historical view of rationality be applied to the sum total of Christian creeds, instead of the former abstract conception of reason, and we shall have a very different sort of estimate of creeds. First, it will be noted that creeds cannot be abstracted from the whole context of the religious life and organism without losing their proper position and significance; then, that they have order, permanence, development, and continuity, and must be considered from that point of view. Thus the historical and comparative study of them as the ever-changing result of men's intellectual effort to formulate their religious experience will create the sympathetic spirit of appreciation of at least their results, though the end be not yet attained. The place of tradition, the worth and necessity of the great insights of great Christian men and epochs will be fully recognized, while no part of the whole past or present of Christian creed will be divorced from the central heart-principle of the person of the founder of Christianity.

THE AUGUST MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for August contains: Frontispiece, "Ernest Renan in his Study at the Collège de France," illustration for "Literary Paris," drawn by P. Renouard; "Literary Paris" (first paper), by Theodore Child; "Troth" (a story), by Ross Hawthorne Lathrop; "Corfu and the Ionian Sea," by Constance Fenimore Woolson; "Ice and Ice-making," by T. Mitchell Prudden; "Jane Field" (a novel), Part IV., by Mary E. Wilkins; "The Salzburger Exiles in Georgia," by the Rev. John F. Hurst, D.D.; "Love" (a poem), by Adèle R. Ingersoll; "The World of Chance" (a novel), Part VI., by William Dean Howells; "Webster," by James Russell Lowell; "The Italian Army," by G. Gorlani, General Staff Colonel; "The Passing of Thomas" (a story), by Thomas A. Janvier; "From the Black Forest to the Black Sea," Part VII., by F. D. Millet; "Domestic Economy," full-page illustration by George du Maurier; "Editor's Easy Chair," by George William Curtis; "Editor's Study," by Charles Dudley Warner; "Editor's Drawer," with introductory story, "The Lady's Choice," by Thomas Nelson Page.

THE contents of THE CENTURY for August are as follows: Portrait of Shelley, Frontispiece; "The Ascent of Fuji the Peerless," Mabel Loomis Todd and David P. Todd, pictures by Harry Fenn, A. Castaigne and E. B. Child; "Sea-Longings," Thomas Bailey Aldrich; "La Chasse-Galerie," Honoré Beaufort, pictures by Henri Julien; "A Servian Song," Richard Henry Stoddard; "A Sea Change," Edmund Clarence Stedman, pictures by Will H. Low; "The Colonel's Last Campaign," Ernest Wardman, pictures by C. D. Gibson; "Let the Dream Go," Anne Reeve Aldrich; "In Gloucester Harbor," Reginald Cleveland Coxe, pictures by the author; "Songs," R. W. Gilder; "The Chosen Valley," IV., Mary Hallock Foote, picture by the author; "Sonnet," Celia Thaxter; "My Shell," Theodore C. Williams; "The Philosophy of Relative Existences," Frank R. Stockton; "Tears," John Vance Cheney; "Beached," Virginia Frazee Boyle; "Architecture at the World's Columbian Exposition," III., Henry Van Brunt, pictures by E. E. Deane, O. H. Bacher, C. A. Vanderhoof and H. G. Ripley (the map in the previous article was furnished by F. L. Olmstead & Co.); "The Châtelaine de La Trinité," III., by the author of "The Chevalier of Pensier-Vani," Henry B. Fuller; "Glimpses of Wild Life," John Burroughs; "The Great Plains of Canada," C. A. Kenaston, pictures by Frederic Remington; "Paul Veronese" (Italian Old Masters), W. J. Stillman, with an engraving by T. Cole; "Storm," Frank Dempster Sherman; "Christopher Columbus," IV., The Great Voyage, Emilio Castelar, picture by A. Gisbert; "When Angry, Count a Hundred," E. Cavazza; "The Apotheosis of Golf," W. E. Norris, pictures by W. H. Drake and H. D. Nichols; "The Nature and Elements of Poetry," V., Truth, Edmund Clarence Stedman; "Shelley's Work," George E. Woodberry, with

frontispiece portrait; *Topics of the Time*; "Popular Crashes;" "Trade Schools," "Open Letters," "Camping Out for the Poor," Philip G. Hubert, Jr.; "A Search for Shelley's American's Ancestor," John Malone; "Southern Womanhood as Affected by the War," Charles F. Deems; "The Steering of Yachts," Isaac Deano and Lewis Herreshoff; "The Battle of the Wyoming in Japan," Walter Pearce and William Elliot Griffis; "In Lighter Vein"; "Along in June," Doane Robinson, pictures by E. W. Kemble; "Love Song," Charles Henry Phelps; "The Old Covered Bridge," Richard Lew Dawson.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE for August contains: "I Have Followed the Currents Under the Branches," frontispiece, drawn by C. Delort, engraved by F. A. Pettit; "Stories of a Western Town," I., "The Besotted of Kurt Lieders," by Octave Thanet, illustrated by A. B. Frost; "Faded Pictures," by William Vaughn Moody; "A Riverside Parish," by Walter Besant (the fifth article in the series on "The Poor in Great Cities"), illustrated by Hugh Thomson; "Sun in the Willows," by Harrison S. Morris; "When the Century Came In," by Mrs. Burton Harrison; "After the Battle," by Edgar Mayhew Bacon; "Icebergs," by N. S. Shaler, illustrated by W. L. Taylor; "As One Having Authority," by H. C. Tanner, illustrated by W. T. Smedley; "Jack-in-the-Box," by T. R. Sullivan; "Guérin's Centaur," by Mrs. James T. Fields, illustrated by C. Delort; "The Triumph of Marie Lavolette," by Duncan Campbell Scott, illustrated by Chester Loomis; "Children's Rights," by Kate Douglas Wiggin; "A Little Parable," by Anne Reeve Aldrich; "How I Sent My Aunt to Baltimore" (a true story), by Charles Stewart Davison; "Historic Moments"—"Driving the Last Spike of the Union Pacific," by Sidney Dillon, with illustrations from a photograph; "The Point of View."

THE contents of THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY for August are as follows: "Ariel," in Memory of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Edmund Clarence Stedman; "A New England Boyhood," I., II., Edward Everett Hale; "Townsend Harris, First American Minister in Japan," William Eliot Griffis; "A Florentine Episode," in two parts, Part Second, Ellen Olney Kirk; "The Passing of the Birds," Bradford Torrey; "Don Orsino," XI.-XVIII., F. Marlon Crawford; "The Benediction," "Quatrains of August," I. August; "Corn," III. Dormant Bulbs, Charles Washington Coleman; "The Persians of Eschylus," William Cranston Lawton; "The Revival of Art," W. J. Stillman; "The Prometheus Unbound of Shelley," II., Vida D. Scudder; "Furness's The Tempest"; "Matiilde Serao's Il Paese di Cucagna"; "Comment on New Books"; "The Contributors' Club."

THE contents of LIPPINCOTT'S for August are as follows: "The Martlet Seal" (illustrated), Jeannette H. Walworth; "The Newspaper of the Future" (Journalist Series, portrait), John A. Cockrill; "The Stream's Song" (a poem), Clinton Scoddard; "The Indian's Hand" (illustrated), Lorimer Stoddard; "Felice Notte" (a poem), Irene Putnam; "A Summer Wooling" (a poem), Louise Chandler Moulton; "Intercollegiate Foot-Ball" (Athletic Series, illustrated), Edgar Allan Poe; "A Race by Rail" (illustrated), Frederic M. Bird; "A Professional Plaidealer," J. K. Wetherill; "As It Seems;" "With the Wits" (illustrated by leading artists).

A DROWSY August afternoon, the light shimmering through the dense leaves of the broad-spreading beech-trees; a figure lying upon the grass holding in his hand a MAGAZINE—not too heavy—just heavy enough for easy holding—THE COSMOPOLITAN, for August; just the sort of reading matter for midsummer afternoon—full of attractive illustrations; scenes and life in the far-off Philippine Islands, with an experience of an earthquake; photographs on the Atlantic Coast accompanying a charming sketch of Jersey's "Salt Water Day," by Hamilton Garland; charming Spanish bits by the artist Chase; lovely vistas and enticing groves, illustrating a "California Farm Village," in which Col. Fitzsimmons describes the growth and development of a model community of fruit farms. Of the fiction, Henry James's "Jersey Villas" makes delightful midsummer reading, and there is an odd story of Southern life, while "Curiosities of Musical Literature" will furnish a half-hour's entertainment for every lover of music. English high society is always an interesting subject when discussed by one who is of it, and knows it thoroughly. Henry Arthur Herbert of Mucross, formerly an Officer of the Guards and an M.P., gives in an entertaining way the cause of the revolution which has taken place in the society of London during the past thirty years. Even Murat Halstead's description of the Convention at Minneapolis is breezy and bright, and the beautiful photographs which illustrate an article on Bridges and Bridge Building would attract a very unscientific reader. The one heavy article of the number is that of the famous English writer on Evolution, St. George Mivart. It is a part of the discussion in which he seeks to harmonize the principles of Evolution with the doctrines of Christianity—one of the most important series of papers ever produced in a magazine, and attracting the widest attention among religious and scientific minds, both in England and this country.

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Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index of Periodicals.

Af. M. E. R. African M. E. Church Review. (Quarterly.)
A. R. Andover Review.
Bibl. Sacr. Bibliotheca Sacra. (Quarterly.)
B. Q. R. Baptist Quarterly Review.
Ch. Q. R. Church Quarterly Review.
C. M. Q. Canadian Methodist Quarterly.
C. P. R. Cumberland Presbyterian Review. (Quarterly.)
C. R. Charities Review.
C. T. Christian Thought.
Ex. Expositor.
Ex. T. Expository Times.
G. W. Good Words.
H. R. Homiletic Review.
L. Q. Lutheran Quarterly.
M. R. Methodist Review. (Bi-monthly.)
M. H. Missionary Herald.

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N. H. M. Newbury House Magazine.
N. E. & Y. R. New Englander and Yale Review.
N. W. The New World.
O. D. Our Day.
O. N. T. S. Old and New Testament Student.
P. M. Preachers' Magazine.
P. Q. Presbyterian Quarterly.
P. R. R. Presbyterian and Reformed Review. (Quarterly.)
R. Ch. Review of the Churches.
R. Q. R. Reformed Quarterly Review.
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S. M. Sunday Magazine.
T. Th. The Thinker.
T. Tr. The Treasury.
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Steiner, Rudolph. Wahrheit und Wissenschaft. Vorspiel einer "Philosophie der Freiheit." Weimar: Weissbach, 1892. Pp. viii., 48, 8vo, 1 mk.

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Thorold, Anthony W., D.D. Questions of Faith and Duty. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1892. 12mo, cloth, \$1.50.

Traub, Friedrich. Die sittliche Weltordnung. Eine systematische Untersuchung. Freiburg i. Br. : Mohr, 1892. Pp. III, 96, Svo, 1.80 mk.

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Wayland, H. L. Charles H. Spurgeon : His Faith and Works. Philadelphia : Am. Bapt. Pub. Soc., 1892. Pp. 317 12mo.

Weinstein, N. I. Dr. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Esoterik. Wien : Lippe, 1892. Pp. iii, 92, Svo, 1.50 mk.

Weissmann, M. Sprache der Weisen mit Erläuterungen, 2. Band. Die Rätselweisheit in den Talmudim und Amoraim, fachlich und sachlich erläutert und in alphabetic Ordnung dargestellt. (In hebräische Sprache.) Wien : Lippe, 1892. Pp. 80, Svo, 2 mk.

Wendt, Henry, D.D. The Teaching of Jesus. Translated [from the German] by the Rev. John Wilson. In 2 vols. Vol. I. Edinburgh : Clark ; New York : Scribners, 1892. Pp. 408, Svo, cloth, 10s. 6d., \$2.50.

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Whittle, W. A. Rev. A Baptist Abroad ; or, Travels and Adventures in Europe and all Bible Lands. With an introduction by J. L. M. Curry. New York : Hill, 1892. Pp. 552, Svo, cloth, \$2.75.

Williams, Leighton and Mornay (eds.). Serampore Letters. Being the unpublished correspondence of William Carey and others with John Williams. With an introduction by Thomas Wright. New York : Putnams, 1892. Pp. v, 150, 12mo, \$1.50.

Williams, M. B. Among many Witnesses. A book for Bible students. New York : Revell, 1892. Pp. 231, 12mo, \$1.00.

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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 20th of each month.)

June 15. Celebration by Scottish Episcopalians of the Centennial of the repeal of laws against Episcopacy in Scotland.

June 15-24. Conference of the (English) Primitive Methodist Church at Norwich.

June 20. Thirty-sixth Annual Mildmay Conference at the Mildmay Park Conference Hall, England.

June 20-25. Conference of the (English) Methodist New Connection at Ashton-under-Lyne.

June 24-26. Celebration by the Moravians of the 150th Anniversary of the founding of Bethlehem, Pa., and the establishment of their church there.

June 26-July 7. Southwestern Conference for Bible Study at Eureka Springs, Ark.

June 27-July 1. Convention of the British Young Men's Christian Association.

June 29. Consecration of the Right Rev. John Michaud (Roman Catholic) Bishop of Bennington, Vt.

June 29-July 3. General Convention of the (colored) "Christian" Churches of the United States at Nashville.

June 29-July 29. Reunion Conference at Grindelwald, with the view of finding a means of evangelical interdenominational comity and united aggressive Christian work.

July 2-5. Celebration of the Centenary of Dublin University.

July 2-13. Seventh World's Conference of College Students, Northfield, Mass.

July 7. Consecration of the Right Rev. John S. Michaud, D.D., Assistant Bishop (Roman Catholic) of Burlington, in Burlington, Vt.

July 7-10. Eleventh Annual Convention of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor in New York City.

Third Annual Meeting of the "Central Conference of American Rabbis," in Temple Beth-el, New York City. This is the advanced wing of the Hebrew people. The most important measure passed was that doing away with the initiatory rite for proselytes.

July 9-13. Jubilee of the Norwegian Mission Society.

July 12. Beginning of the sessions of the Sixteenth Summer School of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy at Prohibition Park, Staten Island.

National Education Association at Saratoga.

July 14-17. General Convention of the Baptist Young People's Union at Detroit, Mich.

July 16. Opening of Salvation Army Camp-Meeting at Old Orchard, Me.

July 18. University Extension Conference at Chautauqua Lake.

Bishop Morris, of the (Protestant Episcopal) Diocese of Oregon, has signified his intention to resign in October, because of ill health. He has been Bishop of Oregon over twenty years.

The Rev. William Chalmers, B.D., has been elected Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales, successor to the late Bishop Mesac Thomas.

The Right Rev. Dr. Anson, Bishop of Qu'Appelle, Canada, has resigned his bishopric.

The Rev. John De Witt, D.D., notwithstanding that he has declined the call to the Chair of Church History in Princeton Theological Seminary, is to be urged to reconsider his decision. The Rev. Charles Martin has been added to the faculty as assistant in the Department of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism. The Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., will give instruction in Semitic languages.

The Rev. Owen H. Gates, Ph.D., instructor in Biblical Philology in Union Theological Seminary, has accepted a call

to the Professorship of Hebrew in Oberlin Theological Seminary. The Rev. Charles P. Fagnani will take Dr. Gates's place at Union.

The Rev. J. K. McClurkin has declined the call to the Chair of Church History in Allegheny Theological Seminary.

The Rev. A. R. Cocke has been elected to the Chair of Theology in the Southwestern Presbyterian University at Clarksville, Tenn., and Rev. W. A. Alexander to that of Hebrew and Greek. Dr. Joseph R. Wilson has resigned the professorship of Theology in the same institution.

The Rev. R. W. Micon has been elected to the Chair of Systematic Divinity in the Philadelphia (Protestant Episcopal) Divinity School, and has signified his acceptance.

The Greek Evangelical Alliance of Turkey has elected the Rev. George Cambouropolis, of Manisa, its President.

OBITUARY.

Erdmann, Professor Johann Eduard (German Evangelical), D.D., in Halle, June 12, aged 87. He studied in the University of Dorpat, 1823-26, and at Berlin, 1826-29; was in the pastorate at Wolmar, 1829-32; became *docent* at Berlin, 1832; Professor Extraordinary at Halle, 1836; and Professor, 1839; served that University till his death, thus teaching there for fifty-six years. His works on philosophy are very numerous, including a "Sketch of the History of Philosophy," "Faith and Knowledge," "Nature and Creation," "Sketch of Psychology," and a "Collection of Sermons Preached in the Cathedral of Halle," all in German. His "History of Philosophy" has been translated into English, superseding the well-known Ueberweg.

McCauley, Rev. Charles F. (Dutch Reformed), D.D. (Franklin and Marshall College, 1872), in Reading, June 19, aged 76. He was graduated from Yale College, 1838; taught school two years; studied theology at Mercersburg, Pa., graduating in 1843; was installed pastor at Mercersburg the same year; removed to Middletown, Md., 1845, serving in the pastorate there until 1855; was called thence to the charge of the Second Reformed Church, Reading, Pa., where he remained until he retired on November 16, 1891, becoming pastor emeritus. He was elected President of the Eastern Synod in 1873, and was for thirty years a member of the Board of Visitors of the Theological Seminary at Lancaster.

Mann, William Julius (Lutheran, General Council), D.D. (Pennsylvania College, Pa., 1857), LL.D., in Boston, June 20, aged 73. He was born in Stuttgart; he studied at the Gymnasium in his native town, and graduated from Tübingen, 1841, where he was a classmate of Dr. Schaff; was assistant pastor in Württemberg, 1842-45; emigrated to the United States, becoming associate pastor of the St. Michael's and Zion's German Lutheran Churches, Philadelphia, and serving thus from 1850-84. He took part in organizing the General Synod, 1846, and helped establish the Theological Seminary in Philadelphia; became Professor of Hebrew, Ethics, and Symbolics in the same, 1864. He edited the *Kirchenfreund*, 1854-60; contributed many articles to the Herzog "Real-Encyclopädie," and to the Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia; and is the author of "Lutheranism in America," "General Principles of Christian Ethics," "Leben und Wirken William Penn's," "Ein Aufgang im Abendland," "Das Buch der Bütcher und seine Geschichte," and especially "Hallesche Nachrichten," which last, it is hoped, will soon be translated into English.

Marcelline (Anthony Perardi), Right Rev. Teresa (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Malabar, in Verapoly, Malabar, aged 63. He was born in Italy, entering the Order of Mt. Carmel, 1844; became a priest, 1846; studied in Rome for several years; was sent to Cochin China, 1854; was elevated to the bishopric, 1877, governing the Syrian Community till 1887. He was given to literary pursuits, and translated many devotional works

into the vernacular, published several controversial volumes, and compiled a "History of the Progress of the Church in Malabar."

Marchal, Most Rev. J. J. (Roman Catholic), Archbishop of Bourges, in Paris, May 27, aged 70. He served as Vicar-General of Saint Die for some years; was appointed Bishop of Belley, 1875; and was enthroned Archbishop of Bourges, 1880.

Mendenhall, Rev. James W. (Methodist Episcopal), D.D. (Ohio Wesleyan University, 1884), LL.D. (McKendree College, 1888), in Chicago, June 18, aged 48. He was graduated from Ohio Wesleyan University in 1864; entered immediately the service of the Christian Commission in Georgia and Tennessee; returned to study law; abandoned this for the ministry, joining the North Ohio Conference in 1869. He was elected a member of the General Conferences of 1884, 1888, and 1892; was urged in 1884 for the editorship of the *Western Christian Advocate*; was elected editor of the *Methodist Review*, 1888, and re-elected since. He was the author of "Echoes from Palestine," but his best and most noted book was "Plato and Paul; or, Philosophy and Christianity."

Thomas, Right Rev. Mesc (Church of England), D.D., Lord Bishop of Goulburn, New South Wales, is dead. He had been bishop twenty-eight years.

Voigt, Heinrich Johan Matthias (German Protestant), at Königsberg, June 20, aged 71. He studied at Halle, Berlin, and Göttingen; entered the pastorate, becoming ordinary Professor of Theology at Königsberg in 1864. He is the author of "The Teaching of Athanasius of Alexandria" and "Fundamental Dogmatics."

CALENDAR.

Aug. 1-12. Continuation of the Summer University at Chautauqua.

Aug. 4-15. Tenth General Conference of Christians at Northfield, Mass. In the absence of Mr. Moody the Rev. A. J. Gordon, D.D., will be the leader, and among the speakers will be the Rev. Dr. Pierson, the Rev. R. A. Torrey, and the Rev. James M. Gray. Mr. Sankey and Mr. Stebbins will have the direction of the musical services.

Aug. 8-14. Eleventh Annual Summer Meeting of Universalist Church at Weirs, Lake Winnipesaukee.

Aug. 11-19. Fifth Annual Interdenominational Bible Conference in Educational Hall, Asbury Park, N. J., under the direction of the Rev. L. W. Munhall, D.D. Among those expected to take part are: Nathaniel West, D.D., Rev. William E. Needham, Mr. Sankey, James H. Brookes, D.D., Arthur T. Pierson, D.D., Professor William G. Moorehead, D.D., Major D. W. Whittle, Rev. and Mrs. George C. Needham, Professor Lather B. Townsend, Edward P. Goodwin, D.D., William J. Erdman, D.D., and Rev. D. M. Stearns.

Aug. 16. United Presbyterian "denominational picnic" at Aliquippa Grove, Pa., on the line of the Erie Railroad.

Aug. 26. Chautauqua season closes.

Sept. 5. Fifth General Conference of the Alliance of Reformed Churches in Toronto.

Second Convention of the International Old Catholic Congress, called by the Synodical Council of the Christian Catholic Church of Switzerland.

Sept. 21. Connecticut State Universalist Convention at New Haven.